facing the Title of the Second Vol.



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THE HISTORY OF *ENGLAND*, AS WELL Eccleſiaſtical as Civil.

BY

M^r. DE RAPIN THOYRAS.

VOL. II. In Two PARTS.

PART I. Contains the Reigns of ETHELRED II, SWEYN, EDMUND *Ironſide*, CANUTE *the Great*, HAROLD *Harefoot*, HARDICANUTE, EDWARD *the Confeſſor*, HAROLD II. With the State of the CHURCH from 979 to 1066. And a Diſſertation on the *Government*, *Laws*, *Cuſtoms*, *Manners*, *Religion* and *Language* of the ANGLO-SAXONS.

PART II. Contains the Reigns of WILLIAM *the Conqueror*, WILLIAM *Rufus*, HENRY I. and STEPHEN; with the *State* of the CHURCH from 1066 to 1154.

Done into *ENGLISH* from the *FRENCH*, with large and uſeful NOTES mark'd with an *, by N. TINDAL, *M. A. Vicar of* Great Waltham *in* Eſſex.

Illuſtrated with the Heads of the Kings, &c. *Curiouſly Engrav'd on* COPPER-PLATES.

LONDON, *Printed for* JAMES *and* JOHN KNAPTON, *at the* Crown *in St.* Paul's *Church-Yard.* 1726.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

To the HONOURABLE

Sir CHARLES WAGER, K^t.

One of the Lords Commiſſioners *for Executing the Office of Lord* High-Admiral *of* Great-Britain, Vice-Admiral *of the* Red Squadron *of his* Majeſty's *Fleet*, Commander in Chief *of his* Majeſty's *Squadron of Ships now in the* Baltick, *and* Plenipotentiary *to the Court of* Sweden.

SIR,



THIS Tranſlation, to which I make bold to prefix your Name, amongſt other remarkable Occurrences, gives an Account of Two great *Revolutions* in *England*; the Firſt by the *Daniſh*, the Second by the *Norman* Arms: Both which are

are ſtanding Monuments of the Neceſſity of a *Naval Force*, not only for the Grandeur, but the Safeguard of our Iſland. For as the *Weakneſs* of our *Anceſtors*, their *little Reputation* Abroad, their being *continually* liable to *Foreign Invaſions*, was chiefly, if not altogether, owing to the want of a *Fleet*; ſo on the contrary, they grew more *Strong* and *Powerful*, their *Dread* of Invaſions diſappear'd, and their *Fame* gain'd Ground in the World, in Proportion as their Shipping encreas'd. And now that we are at this preſent Height of Grandeur and Glory, have the Balance of Power in our Hands, are more Formidable than ever, not only to the *Neighbouring*, but *moſt Diſtant* Nations, keep in Awe (as You your Self experience at this very Time) the Diſturbers of the Peace of *Europe*, and compel them, tho' never ſo unwilling, to ſit down in Quiet, proceeds entirely from the Flouriſhing Condition of our *Navy*, which for *Number* of Ships, for *Stout* and Able Sailors, and for *Brave* and *Experienc'd* Officers, I may venture to ſay is not to be equall'd by all the *Maritime* Powers of *Europe*.

We have likewiſe in this Part of Mr. *de Rapin's* Hiſtory, an impartial Account of the Origin of our *Conſtitution*, particularly in the *Diſſertation* on the *Government*, *Laws*, &c. of the *Anglo-Saxons*, and a plain Refutation of that groundleſs and pernicious Notion, ſtarted among us of late Years, that all the *Rights* and *Privileges* of the People of *England* are but ſo many *Conceſſions* of their Princes. For here all may

may be convinc'd, who are not blinded by Education or Prejudice, that our *Liberties* are interwoven in the *original* Frame of our Government, and that, notwithſtanding the Alterations and Changes, *Time* and other *Circumſtances* may have brought with them, yet this *Maxim*, that *no Engliſhman is ſubject to any Laws, but what the whole Nation has conſented to*, has all along been deem'd in *England*, as the *Foundation* and *Baſis* of our *Conſtitution*. A Privilege that ought to be Dear and Invaluable to all true Lovers of their Country.

WHAT Benefit, upon theſe and many other Accounts, the *Engliſh* Reader may reap from this *Tranſlation* of the Beſt and moſt Impartial Hiſtory of *England* yet extant, it is but juſt that he receive it thro' your Hands, who have enabled me the better to carry on this Work, by the Leiſure I enjoy under you in your Expedition to the *North*; from whence may you return with Honour and Safety, and long live an Ornament to your Country, a Patron and Friend to the Diſtreſs'd, a ſhining Example to the Rich and Great; and, when you go hence, may you receive the bright Crown of Glory laid up in Store for ſuch as do Good, and wiſh well to all their Fellow-Creatures, is the hearty Prayer of,

SIR,

Your moſt Obedient,

and moſt Obliged

Humble Servant,

NICHOLAS TINDAL.

From on Board the Torbay *in the Bay of* Revel *in the* Gulf *of* Finland, *July* 12, 1726.

The

The PREFACE.

THE *Tranſlator, perceiving that, contrary to the Declaration in the Plan of Mr.* De Rapin's *Hiſtory, publiſh'd by Mr.* Rogiſſart, *the* References *to the* Originals *were frequently omitted in the* Margin, *was at a great Loſs to know the Reaſon of it, when he accidently met with the following Letter from Mr.* De Rapin *to one of the Authors of the* German Bibliotheque, *which plainly diſcovers the Secret.*

SIR,

I Am not at all ſurpris'd at your having remark'd the Omiſſion of my *Authorities* in ſeveral Places; however I ſhall alledge an Excuſe, which to you may be ſatisfactory, tho' not to the *Publick*. Having given my *Manuſcripts* to be copied fair by a young Man in the Neighbourhood, he left *Blank Spaces* for ſuch proper Names as he cou'd not readily read, the which 'twas my Buſineſs to fill up: For the ſame Reaſon, he left *Blanks* for ſeveral Citations in the Margin, which I propos'd to ſupply; but unlucklily I began with the *Text*, intending to fill up the *Blanks* in the Margin afterwards; but having done the firſt Part of my Work, I was willing to take Time for the other Part, and by that Means quite forgot it: So that I have in the Margin of my *Manuſcript*, Abundance of References, which are not in the *Printed Copy*. For I laid it down for an *Inviolable Rule*, to relate Nothing of Moment without producing my *Vouchers*; and I don't queſtion but in a Second *Edition*, I ſhall be able to ſupply from my own *Manuſcript* all the *References* that are wanting, without being forc'd to have Recourſe to the Books. But ſuppoſing I ſhould inform the World of the Reaſon of theſe Omiſſions, the *Publick* might juſtly think it unſatisfactory; and I muſt own I deſervedly ſtand condemn'd on that Score, becauſe 'twas purely the Effect of my Careleſsneſs.

This

This Defect the Tranſlator, ſince he knew the Reaſon of it, has endeavour'd to ſupply, as far as Time and Opportunity gave Leave, eſpecially in Caſes that depend on the Authority of a ſingle Hiſtorian.

At the ſame Time with the Letter above, he met likewiſe with Another from Mr. De Rapin *to the ſame Perſon, about another Point relating to his Hiſtory, the which it may not be amiſs to tranſlate.*

SIR,

YOU wiſh that I had given ſome Account of the Authors I have made Uſe of in compiling my Hiſtory: In Anſwer to which I take the Liberty to ſubmit the following Remarks to your better Judgment. 'Tis true, that in general, it were to be wiſh'd that all Hiſtorians wou'd give themſelves this Trouble. But to ſpeak the Truth, for a Hiſtory, that takes in the Space of above 1700 Years, and about which I have conſulted ſome hundreds of Authors, I find the doing This wou'd be too tedious a Work. I ſhou'd think all that cou'd reaſonably be expected from me, is, that I ſhou'd give a Character of the Authors I have follow'd in controverted and important Matters, and who after all are but few in Number, if we except *Eccleſiaſtical Affairs*, of which I pretend only to give a compendious Account, without deſcending to minute Particulars. However you may ſee ſomething of this Nature, in the two Diſſertations on the *Salick Law* and the *Maid of Orleance*, at the End of the Reigns of *Edward* III. and *Henry* VI. You'll find likewiſe in the Beginning of *Tome* VIII, that, before I had ſeen your Remark, I was of your Mind, in Regard to the Hiſtory of the Reign of *Charles* I. and have given ſome Account of the Authors, who have written of that Reign, becauſe it ſeem'd neceſſary for that Part of the Hiſtory, not indeed on Account of the Facts, wherein they are all pretty well agreed, but on the Score of the different Principles the ſeveral Writers proceeded upon, according as they were ingag'd in the One or the Other Party. Mr. *L'enfant* can't but be commended for his Condeſcenſion in bringing his

his *Readers* acquainted with the Authors he made uſe of in his *Hiſtory of the Council of Piſa*, tho' this was in ſome Meaſure neceſſary, becauſe in treating of Religious Matters, a *Divine* wou'd be ſtill more ſuſpected than a *Proteſtant* Layman, in caſe he produc'd not his *Authorities*. But there's a wide Difference between the Hiſtory of a ſingle *Council*, and a general Hiſtory of *England*. However I own, many Readers would no doubt be very glad to ſee the Hiſtorians we are ſpeaking of, well criticis'd upon; but what Numbers are there that would refuſe to read any thing of that Kind, ſeeing 'twould relate to Authors who for the moſt part writ in *Engliſh*? and yet to do this wou'd ſwell this Hiſtory, which perhaps is too voluminous already, to another *Tome*, unleſs I ſhou'd content my ſelf with giving a bare Liſt of the Names of the Writers I have conſulted, as is ſometimes done, the which in my Opinion is a very needleſs Piece of Work.

The Tranſlator has likewiſe done ſomething of this Nature, by inſerting a ſhort View *and* Character *of the principal* Engliſh *Hiſtorians, from Biſhop* Nicholſon *and other* Criticks, *at the Concluſion of Mr.* De Rapin's *State of the* Church, *where he always ſubjoins an Account of the moſt famous* Eccleſiaſticks *and Others, who did not ſo properly fall in his Way in the Courſe of his Hiſtory.*

Our Author in his Account of the Reign of William the Conqueror *has taken Care not to be ſway'd either by the* Norman, *or the* Engliſh *Hiſtorians, They having Both very much aggravated Matters when ſpeaking* for *or* againſt *that Prince; But has fairly confronted the One with the Other, and endeavour'd to come at the Truth by ſuch of the* Conqueror's *Actions, as are not conteſted.*

THE HISTORY of *ENGLAND.*

BOOK V.

The continual Invaſions of the Danes, *during the Reign of* Ethelred II. *They conquer* England. *Four* Daniſh *Kings*, Sweyn, Canute, Harold I, Hardicanute, *reign ſucceſſively. The* Danes *in the Reign of* Edward the Confeſſor, *are expell'd the Kingdom, but by whom or how, is not known. A particular Account of the gradual Riſe of Earl* Goodwin *and his Son* Harold, *who ſucceeds by Election to King* Edward. *The Right of* Edgar Atheling, *the laſt of the* Saxon *Race, ſet by to make Way for* Harold II. *An Examination of the Pretenſions to the Crown of* England, *of* William the Baſtard, *Duke of* Normandy, *who, by the Battle of* Haſtings, *becomes Maſter of all* England. *The State of the Church from the Beginning of* Ethelred's *Reign to the* Norman *Conqueſt.*

14. *ETHELRED* II.

AFTER the Murder of *Edward*, no Manner of Pretence cou'd be urg'd againſt his Brother *Ethelred*'s ſucceeding to the Crown, he being the laſt of the Royal Family, and too young to be accus'd of partaking in his Mother's Crime. Accordingly, *Dunſtan* cou'd not refuſe to crown him, being then about twelve Years of Age, tho' he plainly foreſaw it would prove fatal to his Party. It is affirm'd,

979. Ethelred II *crown'd.*

affirm'd, that *Dunſtan* at his Coronation foretold, by the Spirit of *Prophecy*, the Miſeries to which *England* was going to be expos'd in his Reign. But Predictions of this Nature are always to be ſuſpected, when attributed to *Saints*, ſuch as *Dunſtan*, by Authors who wrote after the Event. However this be, the People had very different Thoughts of this new Reign. They flatter'd themſelves they were about to enjoy a State of Tranquillity, under a Prince who had given an Inſtance of his good Nature, by lamenting bitterly the Death of the King his Brother, though it procur'd him the Crown. An Hiſtorian * tells us, his Tears appear'd ſo unſeaſonable to his Mother, that catching up a Wax-Taper in a Paſſion, ſhe beat him ſo unmercifully with it, that he cou'd not endure the Sight of a Wax-Light ever after.

* Malm. *and* Brompton

The firſt thing *Ethelred* did after his Coronation, was the removing the Body of the late King to *Shaftsbury-Church*. Hardly had he perform'd this Office, but he found himſelf attack'd by the *Danes*, who ſuffer'd him to enjoy no Quiet during the Reſidue of his Life. If this Prince had follow'd the Steps of his Predeceſſors, perhaps he would have caus'd theſe old Invaders to have laid aſide all Thoughts of any new Attempts upon *England*. But his natural Cowardice, join'd to an extream Sluggiſhneſs *', an inſatiable Avarice, and many other Failings, ſoon let them ſee, they had not much to fear from ſuch an Enemy. For about ſixty Years they ſeem'd to have forgot *England*, and the *Engliſh* for their Part to have loſt all Remembrance of the Calamities they had ſuffer'd from the Hands of thoſe cruel Enemies. However, after ſo long an Interval, during which the *Danes* ſettled in *England*, ſeem'd to have entertain'd the ſame Affection for this their ſecond Country, as the Natives themſelves, the foreign *Danes* took it in

His Character.

*' This cowardly and ſluggiſh Temper of his was predicted by *Dunſtan*, when at his *Baptiſm* (like *Conſtantine* the Emperor, from thence call'd, *Copronymus*) he bewray'd the Font, which, *Malmsbury* ſays, diſturb'd *Dunſtan* ſo, that it made him ſwear, *by God and St. Mary*, this Boy will prove a *Poultron*, Lib. 2. c 10. *de Geſt. leg. Ang.* But this has very much the Air of a Monkiſh Aſperſion.

in their Heads to renew their Invaſions. They had no ſooner appear'd, but the others, reſuming their old Inclinations, went and join'd their Countrymen, in order to lay hold on the preſent Opportunity, to free themſelves from the Dominion of the *Engliſh*.

The piratical Rovers made their firſt Attempt on *Southhampton*, where they arriv'd with ſeven Ships, and after plundering the Town and Country adjoining, they carried the ſame Devaſtations into *Cornwal*. *Danes renew their Invaſions* 981.

This Year another Band landed at *Portland*, pillag'd and ſack'd the Country round about, after which they proceeded elſewhere to increaſe their Spoils *.

Theſe frequent Deſcents were ſo much the more incommodious to the *Engliſh*, as they had ſo many Coaſts to guard, being by that Means at a Loſs to know where the Enemy wou'd land. If at any time it fell out, that they had it in their Power to give them Battle, all the Advantage they cou'd get by it, in caſe Fortune favour'd them, was to recover the Plunder. But when they themſelves were worſted, the Country was ſure to be expos'd to all imaginable Barbarities; before any more Forces cou'd be drawn together, very often whilſt the *Engliſh* Troops were upon the March to make Head againſt one Band of theſe Rovers, they were forc'd to change their *Route*, in order to oppoſe another that ſeem'd the more dangerous. Thus, what Care ſoever might be taken, one Part of the Kingdom was always expos'd, ſince there was no foreſeeing where the Pirates would land. There was but one Way to remedy this Evil, which was, to keep a Fleet at Sea ſtrong enough to engage the *Danes*, before they diſembark'd their Troops. But the King's *Minority* ſcarce permitted this Expedient to be put in practice.

In this Manner the firſt ten Years of this Reign were ſpent. It wou'd be needleſs to deſcribe at length the Ravages the *Danes* committed during that time. It is eaſy to imagine that nothing was to be ſeen all over the

* This Year alſo the City of *London* was deſtroy'd by Fire, but by what Accident is unknown.

Kingdom but Murders, Conflagrations, Plunderings, and other Devastations, which, after some short Intermissions, were continually renew'd.

The Death of Elfer *Duke of* Mercia.

During these Troubles, *Elfer* Duke of *Mercia*, one of the best Supports of his Country, died in 983. The little Esteem he had for the Monks, after *Edgar*'s Death, was in all probability the Reason of their noising Abroad, among their Votaries, that he was eaten up of Lice. *Alfrick* his Son succeeded him.

984. *Death of* Ethelwold *Bishop of* Winchester.

The next Year, *Ethelwold* Bishop of *Winchester*, one of *Dunstan*'s Confidents, and a great Friend to the Monks, departed this Life. He is said to have founded a dozen Monasteries. If that be true, he was, no doubt, assisted by the Liberality of the two former Kings, with whom he was mightily in Favour.

Monkery goes to decay.

The Interest of the Monks entirely vanish'd in the Reign of *Ethelred*, by reason of the frequent Invasions of the *Danes*, and because the People's Minds were wholly taken up about their Misfortunes. They even began to call in Question the *Sanctity* of the Monks, not being able to forbear wondering, that Man who had obtain'd from Heaven so many Miracles on their own private Account, cou'd not by their Merits and Prayers, secure the Kingdom from the Calamities it lay under. On the other Hand, as their Credit with the preceding Kings had gain'd them a great Reputation, so this King's being no Friend to them, was very prejudicial to them. *Ethelred*, whose Thoughts were not turn'd to Religion, put the *Monks* and other *Ecclesiasticks* upon the same Foot with the rest of his Subjects. He gave a convincing Proof how little he regarded the *Clergy*, in a Difference between him and the Bishop of *Rochester*. The Bishop having haughtily refus'd to comply with some Demand the King made him, he order'd the Soldiers to lay waste the Lands belonging to the *Cathedral* dedicated to St. *Andrew*. In vain did the Bishop threaten him with Vengeance from the *Apostle*, and to as little purpose did he get Archbishop *Dunstan* to interpose in the Matter; *Ethelred* minded neither of them, nor wou'd he desist 'till a Sum of Money was offer'd him. *Dunstan*, displeas'd to the highest

Degree

Degree at these Proceedings, denounc'd against the King and his Council the Judgments of God, that were ready to fall on their Heads for presuming to lay sacrilegious Hands on the Church's Property; but he was not regarded: His Credit was sunk so low, that hardly was he known to be alive, so great Care had the *new Ministry* taken to keep him under. He died quickly after, in the Year 990; not so much of old Age, as out of Regret for not having that Deference and Respect paid him as formerly.

Dunstan's *Death.* 990.

Oswald, Archbishop of *York*, soon follow'd him. He was his particular Friend, and one of the three Prelates who had the Management of all *Ecclesiastical* Affairs during the Reign of *Edgar*. The Death of these Patrons of the Monks, a contagious Distemper, which carry'd off abundance of People, and moreover the continual Invasions of the *Danes*, put an End to the Quarrel between the *secular* and *regular Clergy*, in such a Manner, that it was never more heard of.

Oswald *Archbishop of* York *dies.*

After the *Danes* had pillag'd the Coasts of *England* for ten Years together, they gave over their Ravages for about two Years. This intermission put the *English* in hopes, that their Enemies having turn'd their Thoughts to some other Country, wou'd for the future leave them in quiet. But their Hopes soon vanish'd: In 991, *Justin* and *Guthmund* two *Danish* Captains, landed a great Body of Troops at *Gipswick* *. Whilst they were taken up with plundering, *Brithnoth*, Duke of *East-Anglia*, advanced toward them, in hopes of surprizing them, but he found them too well prepar'd for him. He was overthrown, and his Defeat expos'd the adjacent Country to the greater Devastations. The victorious *Danes* having nothing more to fear, penetrated farther into the Country, where they committed terrible Ravages. *Ethelred* being without an Army, and in no Condition to stop their Progress, was perswaded by *Syric* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to get rid of them by giving

991. *The* Danes *invade* England *again.*

Sax. Ann.

Ethelred *gives them Money.*

* *Ipswich* in *Suffolk*, wherein are twelve Parish-Churches, with the Ruins of six or seven Religious Houses. In *Cambden*'s Time it had fourteen. As for the Antiquity, we find no mention of it before that *Danish* Invasion.

giving them a Sum of Money *. Perhaps he wou'd have acted wiser, if in Imitation of *Alfred* and *Edgar*, he had laid out the Money in fortifying the Kingdom against their Insults. However this be, the Archbishop's Advice was look'd upon afterwards as very fatal to *England*. The Money given to this Band serv'd only for a Bait to allure others, who thought they had an equal Right to take the Advantage of the Weakness of the *English*.

993. *Another* Danish *Fleet.*

Two Years after, another of their Fleets sailing up the *Humber*, the Pirates landed on the North-Side, and ravag'd in a merciless Manner all that belong'd to the *English* in those Quarters. *Ethelred* sent an Army against them, under the Command of three Earls, *Frœna*, *Frithegist*, and *Goodwin*. But the Generals, after they had led their Troops quite up to the Enemy, were the first that turn'd their Backs, and by their shameful Flight were the Cause of the Loss of the Army. The King had been so unwise as to confide in these three Lords, who being of *Danish* Extraction, were suspected of Treachery.

994. Sweyn *and* Olaüs *invade* England.

How great soever the Miseries might be that these Foreigners hitherto had brought on *England*, it may be affirm'd, they were nothing in Comparison of what follow'd. *Sweyn* King of *Denmark*, and *Olaüs* (*a*) King of *Norway*, allur'd by the good Success of their Subjects in *England*, had a mind also to have a Share of the Booty they every Year brought off from thence. To this End, having fitted out a numerous Fleet, they enter'd the *Thames*, and landed their Troops near *London*. They made several Attempts to become Masters of the City, but meeting with a braver Resistance than they expected, they retir'd. To make themselves amends for the Time they had lost before *London*,

* Ten Thousand Pound. *Sax. Ann.* 991.

(*a*) Some pretend *Olaüs* or *Olaf* was the same with *Anlaf* mention'd in the Reigns of *Edmund* and *Edred*. But besides that the one was King of *Norway*, which can't be said of the other, *Anlaf* must have been exceeding old, since seventy Years before he was a General. Historians not carefully distinguishing the Princes that were call'd *Anlaf* or *Olaf*, made *Selden* say, it was a Name that bred great Confusion in the *English* History.

London, they went and plunder'd *Kent*, *Hampſhire*, and *Suſſex*, threatening to lay the whole Kingdom waſte. *Ethelred*, who had no more Conduct than Courage, not knowing how to put a ſtop to their Ravages, had Recourſe to the ſame Means made uſe of before on a like Occaſion. He bound himſelf by Treaty to pay a certain Sum of Money * within ſuch a time, on Condition they left his Subjects unmoleſted, and departed out of the Kingdom. Matters being thus accommodated, the two foreign Kings caus'd all Hoſtilities to ceaſe, and retir'd to *Southhampton*. A little after the King of *Norway* paid a Viſit to *Ethelred*, who perſuaded him to be baptiz'd, and ſtood Godfather to him. At his going off, *Olaüs* oblig'd himſelf by Oath never to infeſt *England* more, and was as good as his Word.

Ethelred promiſes them a Sum of Money.

Olaüs turns Chriſtian.

It wou'd have been happy for the *Engliſh*, if *Sweyn*, who departed at the ſame Time, wou'd have follow'd his Example; they wou'd by that Means have eſcap'd all thoſe Miſeries he afterwards brought on the Land. When he ſail'd for *Denmark* he left a Fleet behind at *Southampton*, to keep the *Engliſh* in Awe, and oblige them to perform the Articles of the Treaty. After his Departure, his Admiral preſs'd the Payment of the Money with great Earneſtneſs. But as they were not over-haſty to comply with his Demands, he took their Delay for a refuſal, and reſolv'd to renew the War. In the mean while, to take the *Engliſh* off their Guard, he ſet ſail, as if he deſign'd for *Denmark*, and on a ſudden, when they leaſt expected it, he enter'd the *Severn*, and after deſtroying the Country of the *Welſh* with Fire and Sword, he croſs'd over the River and penetrated into *Dorſetſhire*, where he committed the ſame Ravage. All the Forces that cou'd be brought againſt them were defeated as ſoon as levied. They ſack'd whole *Counties*, it being impoſſible to make Head againſt them. In fine, finding no more Booty to be got in theſe Parts, they put to Sea again and landed in *Kent*. The Inhabitants by endeavouring to reſiſt them, only increas'd the Fury of their

The Two Kings return Home.

997. *The War is renew'd.*

998. *The* Danes *ravage* England;

* Sixteen Thouſand Pound. *Sax. Ann*, 994.

their Enemies, who treated them with the utmoſt Barbarity. To compleat their Misfortunes, a Fleet *Ethelred* had mann'd out to engage the *Danes* at Sea, was render'd uſeleſs by the Diſſenſions and Unskilfulneſs of the Commanders.

999. *Are unexpectedly call'd off.* In this melancholly Poſture of Affairs *England* would infallibly have gone to Ruin, if the *Danes* by a lucky and unexpected Accident had not been call'd off to the Aſſiſtance of *Richard* II. Duke of *Normandy*, whom the King of *France* deſign'd to diſpoſſeſs of his Dominions. *Ethelred* took this Opportunity to go and ravage *Cumberland*,

1000. but for what Reaſon is not known *. After this, he return'd to *London*, where he kept his uſual Reſidence.

1001. *They return into* England. The Quiet *Ethelred* enjoy'd was of no long continuance; the *Danes* being detain'd in *Normandy* no longer than was neceſſary to put the young Duke out of Danger, return'd into *England*. *Cornwal* felt the firſt Effects of their Fury; then entering *Weſſex*, they became Maſters of *Exeter*. The Conſternation of the *Engliſh* was ſo great, that they made but a very faint Reſiſtance. Whether *Ethelred* was betray'd by his Generals, or whether the long Peace the *Engliſh* had enjoyed in the preceding Reigns, had enervated their Courage, they were conſtantly worſted. The King himſelf was ſeiz'd with ſuch a Dread, that he durſt not venture to be preſent in the Battles for fear of falling into the Hands of the *Danes*, who in all Appearance wou'd have ſhown him no Favour. In fine, the *Danes*, ever victorious, got poſſeſſion of the Iſle of *Wight*, *Hampſhire* and *Dorſetſhire*, where they had their *Magazines*. From hence they made continual Incurſions into

* Though not one of our *Engliſh* Hiſtorians have mention'd on *whom* or for *what* this War was made, *John Fordon* in his *Scotch* Hiſtory gives this Account of it: *Ethelred* having paid large Sums to the *Danes*, ſent to *Malcolm* Prince of *Cumberland*, under *Gryme* King of *Scotland*, to pay his Share; which he refuſing to do, and aſſerting he was only bound to make War with the reſt of the Kingdom when requir'd, *Ethelred* invaded his Country, on Pretence he favour'd the *Danes*; but preſently after the two Princes ſtruck up a Peace, and became Friends.

into the neighbouring Counties, without any one's daring to oppose them. *England* was *then* in a deplorable Condition; the *Southern* Counties were perpetually ravag'd by the foreign *Danes*, and the *Northern* Parts peopled by the same Nation, whom the *English* could not but look upon as their Enemies. They had not only refus'd to fight against the Foreigners, whom they consider'd as their Countrymen, but by joining with them, they help'd to destroy a Country they ought to have defended to the utmost of their Power, since it was become their own. In this Extremity *Ethelred*, who had no Resolution, was far from imitating the Firmness of his Ancestors, who in the like Circumstances never suffered their Courage to be cast down by Misfortunes. This timorous Prince, not seeing any other Way to avoid the still greater Miseries the Nation was threatned with, yielded to pay the *Danes* Thirty Thousand Pounds. This Sum, which in those Days was a very considerable one, was levied by way of Tax, to which was given the Name of *Danegeld*; that is, *Danish Money*, or *Money for the Danes* *. This was the Original of that famous Tax which afterwards became so exceeding burthensome to the Nation, even for a long time after the *Danes* had quitted *England*. But the *Clergy* and *Monks* found the Means to slip their Necks out of the Collar.

The miserable Condition of England.

Origin of Danegeld.

The *Danes*, satisfied with these Terms, ceas'd their Ravages and return'd Home. However, abundance of them perceiving *England* to be a much better Country than *Den-*

The Danes *return Home, but several stay behind.*

* For the Payment of this Money every *Hide* of Land was tax'd yearly Twelve-pence. A Hide of Land is such a Quantity of Land as may be plough'd with one Plough in a Year. *Bede* reckons it as much as will maintain a Family. Some say it was a hundred Acres, others, that it contain'd no certain Number of Acres, The Distribution of *England* by *Hides of Land* is very Antient, mention being made of it in the Laws of *Ina*. *Danegeld* was the first Land-Tax in *England*. It was afterwards call'd *Hydagium*, which Name remain'd afterwards upon all Taxes and *Subsidies* impos'd on Lands. The *Normans* call'd these sometimes *Taxes*, sometimes *Tallages*, and *Auxilia & Subsidia*. The *Saxon* Kings before this had their Levies of Money and *Personal Services*, towards the building and repairing Cities, Castles, Bridges, Military Expeditions, *&c.* which from the Word *Bote*, that is, repair, were term'd *Burghbote*, *Brigbote*, *Heregeld*, &c.

mark, ſtaid behind, and liv'd among the *Engliſh*. Their Number indeed was not ſo great as to render them very formidable, eſpecially conſidering they were diſpers'd up and down: But then they were back'd by their Countrymen in *Northumberland* and *Eaſt-Anglia*. Beſides, the *Engliſh* dreaded nothing ſo much as the renewing the War, which made the *Danes* behave in a very inſolent Manner. They did what they pleas'd, without any one's daring to controul them. The *Engliſh*, diſpirited by their paſt Calamities, were afraid of giving the leaſt Occaſion of drawing on the Kingdom freſh Invaſions. Thus whilſt the *Danes*, abounding in Wealth and Eaſe, paſs'd their Time agreeably, the *Engliſh* were forc'd to labour and toil inceſſantly, in order to ſatisfy the Avarice of their new Maſters. In ſo great Fear did they ſtand of the *Danes* all over the Kingdom, that they gave them the Appellation of *Lord-Danes*. The Word itſelf, as well as the Meaning of it, was alter'd a little after. At this Day in ſome Parts of *England* a *rich idle Man* that takes upon him, is by way of Deriſion call'd a *Lurdane*. But notwithſtanding this Alteration, the Traces of its original Signification are ſtill viſible in the *Word*.

Who behave inſolently:

Are thence call'd Lord Danes:

Elgiva, *Ethelred*'s Queen, dying, whilſt the *Danes* were thus domineering in *England*, the King demanded *Emma* *, the Siſter of *Richard* II. Duke of *Normandy*, in Marriage. His Requeſt being granted, and the Marriage conſummated, he was mightily elated upon it, depending upon the Aſſiſtance of the Duke his Brother-in-law, whenever there ſhould be occaſion. The Thoughts of this new Alliance made him reſolve upon the barbarous and violent Expedient of getting rid of the *Danes* by a general Maſſacre. To this End, he ſent Orders ſo privately *1 throughout the Kingdom,

Ethelred *marries* Emma *of* Normandy.

* She was call'd from her extraordinary Beauty, *The Pearl of* Normandy. *Ran. Higd.* l. 6.

*1 *Huntingdon* ſays, that he himſelf, when a Child, heard it from certain old Men, that by the King's Command Letters were privately diſpatch'd all over *England*, to make away the *Danes* in one Night. The *Saxon Annals* add, it was becauſe the King was told the *Danes* deſign'd to deprive him and his Nobles of their Lives, and to ſeize the Kingdom. *Anno* MII.

Kingdom, that in one Day all the *Danes* were ſlain with ſuch implacable Fury and Cruelty, that the Particulars can't be read without Horror *. *Sweyn*'s Siſter *1, who was marry'd to an *Engliſh* Lord, having at firſt been ſpar'd, *Ethelred* was ſo barbarous as to have her beheaded, after he had order'd her Children to be ſlain before her Face. The cruel Treatment of this Princeſs, who met her Death with an heroick Conſtancy, was ſeverely revenged ſhortly after. *Maſſacre of the Danes.*

This bloody Tragedy, which was acted on the 13th of *November* 1002 *2, was very like the Maſſacre of the *Romans* by the *Britons* under *Boadicea*; not only the ſame Barbarities, but the ſame Conſequences alſo attended both. The *Engliſh* as well as the old *Britons*, were ſo far from throwing off their Yoak by theſe unjuſt Means, that they ſerv'd only to make it the more heavy and inſupportable. Although Hiſtorians aſſure us, that all the *Danes* in *England* were maſſacred on this Occaſion, it is hard to conceive how this could be brought about in *Northumberland* and *Eaſt-Anglia*, where the *Danes* were vaſtly the Majority. Was it poſſible that in thoſe Parts they ſhould ſtand ſtill to have their Throats cut, without making any Reſiſtance worth Notice? Hence I am of Opinion, that by all the *Danes*, we are to underſtand only thoſe that were lately ſettled in *England*, and diſpers'd in *Weſſex* and *Mercia*. *Remarks on this Maſſacre.*

Ethelred was perſuaded theſe bloody Proceedings, whereby ſo many Thouſands loſt their Lives, would procure him Peace. He could not imagine the *Danes* would ever think again of invading *England*. At leaſt, he hop'd, in caſe the Deſire of Revenge brought them thither, the *Engliſh* would ſee the Neceſſity of ſhedding the laſt drop of their

* Among other Cruelties, the *Daniſh* Women were plac'd in Holes in the Earth, as deep as their Waſtes, and then had their Breaſts torn off by Maſtiff Dogs. See *Joh. Walling* p. 547. *Edit. Gale*

*1 Her Name was *Gunilda*; ſhe is ſaid to have been married to a noble *Dane* of great Power and Wealth, who had been ſettled for ſome Time in *England*, his Name was *Paleng*. She was a Chriſtian, and had been a great Inſtrument in making Peace between the *Engliſh* and *Danes*.

*2 On the Feaſt of St. *Brictus*.

Blood to prevent falling into the Hands of their incens'd Enemies. He relied moreover on the Assistance of his Brother-in-law the Duke of *Normandy*, a powerful Prince, and whose Interest it was to stand by him. But such a detestable Piece of Policy rarely produces the desired Effects, or rather seldom fails of ending in the Ruin of the Projector. God, who beholds such tragical Actions with Abomination, does not often let them go unpunished. Of this we have an Instance in the Miseries that befel *Ethelred* and his Subjects, who were almost as deep in the Guilt as their King.

Sweyn *resolves upon Revenge.*

Sweyn had the News of this Massacre brought him by some *Danes*, who escap'd by getting on Board a Vessel ready to sail for *Denmark*. The Relation they gave of the Cruelties of the *English* towards the *Danes* was sufficient to excite him to a Revenge. But when he heard of his Sister's Death, and the barbarous Manner of it, he was seized with a raging Fury. He solemnly swore, he would never rest till he had revenged so bloody an Outrage. It was not therefore with a Design to plunder that he made a second Expedition into *England*, but to destroy the whole Country with Fire and Sword. In the mean while, as he did not doubt but *Ethelred* had taken all necessary Measures for his Defence, he did not think fit to set sail without being sure beforehand of a Place where he might safely land his Troops. *Cornwal* was then govern'd by Earl *Hugh*, a *Norman*, whom the Queen had plac'd in that Post as a Man the King might confide in. To this Governour *Sweyn* dispatch'd a faithful Messenger, to endeavour to bring him over to his Interest, by the Offer of a great Reward. *Hugh* yielded to the Temptation, promised to admit the *Danish* Fleet into his Ports, and to suffer the Troops to land without Molestation.

Sweyn *lands in* Cornwal, *and burns* Exeter.

Upon this, *Sweyn* having equipp'd a Fleet of 300 Sail, landed in *Cornwal* with a numerous Army, and meeting with no Opposition, march'd directly towards *Exeter*. As this City was in no Apprehension of being attack'd, he easily became Master of it, and after he had put the Inhabitants to the Sword, reduc'd it to Ashes. This first Exploit

ploit was follow'd by ſeveral others, no leſs fatal to *England*. Where-ever *Sweyn* carried his Arms, Revenge and not Conqueſt being his chief Aim, he deſtroy'd all with Fire and Sword. Towards the End of the Summer, being inform'd *Alfric* Duke of *Mercia* was advancing with a powerful Army, in order to give him Battle, he reſolv'd to march towards him. *Ethelred* acted very imprudently in giving the Command of his Army to this Lord, whom he had formerly baniſh'd the Kingdom out of mere Caprice, and whoſe Son's Eyes he had order'd to be put out *. The Remembrance of this Injury being ſtill freſh in the Duke's Mind, he was pleas'd to find he had an Opportunity in his Hands to revenge it. As ſoon as he was in ſight of the Enemy, he feign'd himſelf ſick on a ſudden, and pretending he was not in a Condition to fight, order'd the Army to retreat, but took Care it ſhou'd be done in ſuch Diſorder, that the *Danes* found no great Difficulty to put them to Rout. After which *Sweyn* took ſeveral Towns, from whence he carry'd off a prodigious Booty. But as he had no Deſign to keep them, he ſet them on Fire, and went and paſs'd the Winter in *Denmark*.

Sax. Ann.

The Engliſh *betray'd.*

Sweyn *retires.*

The Calm *England* enjoy'd upon *Sweyn*'s going off, laſted not long. In the following Spring he landed in *Eaſt-Anglia*, and taking *Norwich*, burnt the whole Town to the Ground. *Ulfketel*, Governour of *Eaſt-Anglia*, not being in a Condition to reſiſt him, gave him a great Sum of Money, to prevent his doing any farther Miſchief. But upon receipt of the Money *Sweyn* breaks the Treaty, and goes and takes *Thetford* by Surprize, a Town then of great Note, and ſerved it in the ſame Manner as he had done *Norwich*. Incens'd at this Breach of Faith, *Ulfketel* levied ſome Troops with great Expedition, and went and poſted himſelf between the *Daniſh* Army and Fleet. *Sweyn* perceiving he had a Deſign of cutting off his Retreat to his Ships, march'd towards him to give him Battle, before he ſhou'd be reinforc'd with more Troops. He found the

He returns and burns Norwich *and* Thetford.

* Though the *Annals* tell us not the Reaſon, *Malmsbury* ſays it was for his Father's Perfidiouſneſs, who had revolted ſeveral Times.

the *English* encamp'd in an advantageous Manner, resolutely bent to stand their Ground, and do their utmost in Defence of their Goods and Chattels, which their Enemies were carrying off before their Face. The ill Fortune of the *English* was such, that it was next to impossible they shou'd so much as once get the better. The *Danes* obtain'd a signal Victory, though not without great Loss on their Side. They even own'd they were never in more Danger of being defeated *. *Ulfketel*, though of *Danish* Race, was the faithfullest as well as bravest of all *Ethelred*'s Subjects, and did him the best Service. But the other Lords were very different from him. All Historians agree, *Ethelred* was betray'd by all about him. *Sweyn* had his Spies not only in his Court, but in his very Council. The *Great Men*, for the most Part, were brib'd, or at least there was scarce one that serv'd the King heartily, on Account of the little Regard they had for him. Whatever Councils were held to consider of the Way and Means of withstanding the *Danes*, the Dissentions between the *Nobles*, too common in the Courts of Princes so little respected, prevented them from coming to any Resolution, or from putting what was concluded upon in Execution. The Avarice of the Clergy, particularly of the Monks, very much help'd forward the general Confusion. Notwithstanding their great Riches, they refus'd to contribute their *Quota* in Defence of the Kingdom, pleading their Privileges and Immunities, as if they were not at all concern'd in the Danger. It is no wonder therefore the *Danes* obtain'd so many Victories in a Country so ill defended by them, who were so much concern'd in its Preservation. The Famine that happen'd presently after, would have compleated the Misfortunes of the *English*, had it not unexpectedly prov'd the Occasion of *Sweyn*'s returning to *Denmark* for want of necessary Subsistence.

Defeats the Duke of East Anglia.

~~1040~~ 1004

Ethelred *betray'd on all Hands.*

1005. *Famine in* England, *upon which* Sweyn *retires.*

Upon

* The *Saxon Annals* tell us, the Fight was very sharp, and ended in a great Slaughter on both Sides, wherein abundance of the *English* Nobility were kill'd. But if all the *English* Forces had been there, the *Danes* had never reach'd their Ships. *Anno* MIV.

Upon the Retreat of the *Danes* and ceaſing of the Famine, the *Engliſh* began to entertain hopes of enjoying ſome Tranquillity, when another *Daniſh* Fleet arriv'd at *Sandwich* in *Kent*. *Ethelred* immediately levied an Army to give the new Invaders Battle: but after having committed ſome Ravages, they were retir'd to the Iſle of *Thanet*, where it was not poſſible to attack them. They knew the *Engliſh* Army, conſiſting only of *Volunteers* who ſerv'd at their own Expence, wou'd ſoon disband themſelves, as it actually fell out. Winter coming on, the *Engliſh* return'd to their Homes, it not being in the Power of the King to keep them any longer together. Then the *Danes* iſſuing out from their Retreat, began their Ravages in *Kent* and the neighbouring *Counties*, well aſſur'd they ſhould meet with no Oppoſition. *Ethelred* had no other Courſe to take to put a Stop to the Ruin the whole Kingdom was threatned with, but to buy them off with the Sum of thirty Thouſand Pounds, with which they were very well ſatisfied.

Another Daniſh Fleet.

Being thus got rid of the *Danes*, the King celebrated the Wedding of one of his Daughters with *Edrick* ſirnam'd *Streon* (*a*), a very powerful Lord, whom he had juſt made Duke of *Mercia*. If hitherto *Ethelred* had liv'd in continual Fears and Troubles, it was nothing in compariſon of the Misfortunes he drew on himſelf by this fatal Marriage. He had inconſiderately taken into his Family a Traitor ſold to the *Danes*, who never fail'd on all occaſions to betray the King and Kingdom to Foreigners.

The King marries his Daughter to Edrick, *who proves a Traytor.*

Hardly was a Year paſs'd over ſince the laſt Treaty with the *Danes*, but they demanded the ſame Sum again, pretending it was a yearly Tribute *Ethelred* had oblig'd himſelf to pay. This Demand was accompanied with Threats of deſtroying the whole Kingdom with Fire and Sword, if the Money was not immediately paid. Theſe Proceedings of the *Danes* having convinc'd the King and his Council, that there was no poſſibility of contenting their inſatiable Avarice,

1008. Ethelred *fits out a great Fleet.*

(*a*) *Camden* ſays, *Streon* ſignifies *the Acquirer*, and therefore it was not a Proper, but a Sirname only.

rice, it was resolved upon, that the best way wou'd be to expend the Money in fitting out a good Fleet to defend the Kingdom from their Incursions. Necessity made them put this Resolution so speedily in Practice, that quickly after, a Fleet well-mann'd and victuall'd was got ready, the Command of which was given by the King to *Brithrick*, Brother to *Edric Streon* Duke of *Mercia*. These Measures oblig'd the *Danes* to retire, for Fear of being compell'd to a Sea-Engagement, which their Ships were not so fit for as the *English* ones *.

The Fleet comes to nothing.

The first Thing *Brithrick* did, after his being made Admiral, was to use all his Interest to ruin *Ulnoth*, a Lord of distinguish'd Quality, but his Enemy. He accus'd him to the King of I know not what Crimes, which *Ulnoth* did not think fit to purge himself of by a publick Tryal, being very sensible a Party was form'd to get him condemn'd. He resolv'd therefore upon a voluntary Banishment, in order to screen himself from the Persecution of his Enemy, and in going off perswaded nine Captains to follow him with their Ships. After which he infested the *English* Coasts, and did as much Mischief as the *Danes*. *Brithrick*, enrag'd at his Escape, and at his daring to brave him thus, put to Sea with eighty Sail to give him Chace, and endeavour to seize him alive or dead. But he met with so violent a Storm, that the greatest Part of his Ships were lost or fell into the Hands of *Ulnoth*. Thus this great Fleet, which cou'd not be fitted out, without a prodigious Expence, came to nothing, by the private Quarrel of the Admiral. The Loss became still more irretrievable, by the Dissentions among the Officers, several of whom went and join'd *Ulnoth*.

In

* The *Saxon Annals* tell us, this was the largest and best Fleet *England* had ever seen. It was built after this manner all over *England*; every 310 *Hides of Land* were oblig'd to find one Ship, and every eight Hides a *Helmet* and *Breast-Plate*. *An.* MVIII. MIX. It must be observ'd that the *Annals* tell us, the several Sums paid to the *Danes*, as well as this Tax for building a Fleet, were all levied with the joint Consent of the King and his *Great Council*, or *Wittena-Gemot*.

In the mean Time the *Danes* took the Advantage of theſe inteſtine Broils. The next Spring two of their Fleets arriv'd in *England*, one in *Eaſt-Anglia*, under *Turkil*, another in the Iſle of *Thanet*, under *Heming* and *Anlaff*. Theſe Leaders joining Forces in *Kent*, after they had plunder'd the Country, laid Siege to *Canterbury*. The City would infallibly have fallen into the Hands of the *Danes*, if the Inhabitants had not bought a Peace with a large Sum of Money *. 1009. Danes *arrive in* Kent, Sim. Dunelm.

Whilſt the *Danes* were taking up in ravaging *Kent*, *Ethelred* drew an Army together to make Head againſt them. As ſoon as he was in a Condition to do it, he poſted himſelf between them and their Ships, to prevent their embarking and carrying off their Booty. In all Appearance, he wou'd have ſucceeded, and perhaps have had ſome further conſiderable Advantage over them, ſeeing he was ſuperior to them in Numbers, if *Edrick* had not found the means to bring off the *Danes* at this Pinch. The Traytor perceiving the Danger they were in, repreſented to the King, his Father-in-law, that it wou'd be much better to let them retire than hazard a Battle, which might prove fatal to him. This pernicious Advice made ſuch an Impreſſion on the Mind of the King, that he ſuffer'd them to march by with all their Plunder unmoleſted. But inſtead of ſailing for *Denmark*, as 'twas hop'd, they threw themſelves into the Iſle of *Thanet*; from whence, during the whole Winter, they made Incurſions into the neighbouring *Counties*. They even made ſeveral Attempts upon *London*; but were always repuls'd. In the mean while, *Uſketel* Duke of *Eaſt-Anglia*, having a mind to try the Fortune of a Battle once more in Defence of his Government, had the ill-luck to be overthrown, and by that means left them Maſters of the Country. Ethelred *levies an Army*; *but ſuffers the* Danes *to paſs by him unmoleſted*. Ulfketel *defeated*.

Hitherto the *Danes* had wanted *Cavalry*, by reaſon of the Difficulty of tranſporting Horſes from *Denmark*. But as ſoon as they were in poſſeſſion of *Eaſt-Anglia*, a *The* Danes *mount ſome of their Troops, and become Maſters of almoſt all* Weſſex.

* Three Thouſand Pounds. *Sax. Ann.* MIX.

Country abounding with Horſes, they mounted Part of their Troops, by whoſe means they extended their Conqueſts. Shortly after they ſubdued *Eſſex*, *Middleſex*, *Hertfordſhire*, *Buckinghamſhire*, *Oxfordſhire* *, *Bedfordſhire*, *Cambridgeſhire*, *Huntingtonſhire*, *Northamptonſhire*, *Kent*, *Surry*, *Suſſex*, *Hampſhire*, *Wiltſhire*, and *Devonſhire*, whilſt *Ethelred*, who had ſcarce any thing left, kept himſelf ſhut up in *London*, without daring to take the Field in order to ſtop their Progreſs. In all the abovenam'd *Counties*, *London* and *Canterbury* were the only Places not in the Power of the *Danes*. But at length they attack'd the laſt of theſe ſo vigorouſly, that they took, plundered, and reduc'd it to Aſhes. *Elphegus* the Archbiſhop being taken Priſoner, was afterwards murder'd by theſe Barbarians *1. They proceeded with the ſame Cruelty againſt the Monks of St. *Auguſtin*'s, whom they put under a *Decimation*, deſtroying nine Parts in Ten *2.

1012. *They burn* Canterbury.

England being reduc'd to this deplorable State, all the *Great Men* of the Kingdom aſſembled at *London*, with the King, to conſult what was to be done in the preſent Caſe. The beſt Expedient they could think of, was to bribe them with a Sum of Money to leave the Kingdom. The Sum agreed amounted to 48,000 Pounds; upon the receipt of which they went off with their Booty.

1013. Sweyn *returns into* England.

Tho' the Retreat of the *Danes* had coſt *England* dear, the People thought themſelves very happy in being thus rid

* *Oxford* being burnt that Year by the *Danes*, all Studies ceas'd there till the Year 1133. *Tho. Redburn.*

*1 He was kill'd at *Greenwich*, to which Place, the Station of their Ships, they had brought him Priſoner. And therefore in the preſent Church of *Greenwich*, on the top of the Partition Wall, between the Nave of the Church and the Chancel is this Inſcription, *This Church was erected and dedicated to the Glory of God, and the Memory of St.* Alphage *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *here ſlain by the* Danes; *becauſe he wou'd not ranſom his Life by an unreaſonable Sum of Money.* An. 1012. He was firſt buried at St. *Paul*'s in *London*, and afterwards remov'd to *Canterbury*. He was honour'd as a Martyr, and ſtands in the *Roman Martyrology* on the 19th of *April*.

*2 *Florence of Worceſter* ſays, the Burghers were ſerv'd in the ſame manner; ſo that only four Monks, and about 800 Laymen were left alive.

rid of their Enemies, hoping they ſhould repair by a Peace, the Damages they had ſuſtain'd by the War. But they were far from ſeeing as yet the end of their Miſeries. Hardly had they enjoy'd any Quiet, when News came that *Sweyn* * was enter'd the *Humber* with a powerful Fleet, threatning the whole Kingdom with Ruin and Deſtruction. As this Prince found the Country unprovided with an Army, and in no Condition to defend itſelf, he quickly became Maſter of *Northumberland*, *Eaſt-Anglia*, in a word, of all the *Counties*, lying North of *Watling-ſtreet* *1. But not contented with this, he takes Hoſtages of all the principal Towns; and leaving his Son *Canute* to take care of the conquer'd *Counties*, he advances Southward, and on a ſudden lays Siege to *London*, where *Ethelred* had ſhut himſelf up. Tho' he was but ill provided to beſiege in Form a Place of that Importance, he imagin'd the Citizens would be terrified at his Menaces. But finding they were not to be work'd upon that way, he deſiſted from his Enterprize, and went and ravaged the South-Parts of *Weſſex*, where there were none to oppoſe him. However, as he could not reſt ſatisfied whilſt *London* was not in his Power, he reſolv'd to beſiege it once more. But whilſt he was making Preparations for the Siege, he had Information of *Ethelred*'s being gone from thence. This unfortunate Prince dreading to fall into the Hands of an Enemy whom he had ſo heinouſly injured, and perceiving he was not ſafe in *London*, retir'd into *Normandy* with all his Family. Whereupon the *Londoners* being left to take care of themſelves, judg'd it would be a raſh Undertaking to maintain alone the *Rights* of a Prince that had deſerted them. They came therefore to a Reſolution of ſubmitting to the King of *Denmark*, to whom all the reſt of the Kingdom was already ſubject. Preſently after the Surrender of *London*, *Sweyn* was proclaimed King of *Eng-*

He becomes Maſter of ſeveral Counties.

*1 See note p. 103, and 376.

* The *Engliſh* Hiſtorians have not told us the Reaſon why *Sweyn* ſtaid away ſo long, as from 1005 to 1013, eight Years.

land without any Oppoſition, none daring to diſpute his Title.

15. *SWEYN* King of *Denmark.*

SWEYN. THE firſt Act of Sovereignty of the new King, was the laying an immenſe Tax on the Kingdom for the Payment of the *Daniſh* Troops, who had aſſiſted him in his Conqueſts. No Hiſtorian mentions the Coronation of this Prince. Perhaps he omitted this Solemnity, as believing it of little Moment, or it may be, was wholly taken up with Matters of greater Importance, during his ſhort Reign, which laſted not quite a Year.

1014. *He dies ſuddenly.* Some ſay he died a natural Death, being choak'd by a Rheum. Others ſay he was poiſon'd: Whatever was the Cauſe, 'tis certain he died ſuddenly. This gave Occaſion to the *Legend Writers* to ſay he was kill'd with a Club or Lance by St. *Edmund*, formerly King of *Eaſt-Anglia*. It is pretended, this *Saint* did it to ſave the Town, where his Body lay buried *, from being plunder'd for refuſing to pay the Tax impos'd by the new King. The ſhortneſs of his Reign, and perhaps his not being crown'd, are the Reaſons Hiſtorians, for the moſt part, have not reckoned this Prince in the Number of the Kings of *England*.

ETHELRED II. reſtor'd.

ETHELRED II. 1014. UPON the Death of *Sweyn*, the *Danes* proclaim'd *Canute* his Son, King of *England*. But the *Engliſh* recall'd *Ethelred*, promiſing to ſupport him on the Throne, againſt all the Attempts of the *Danes*, whoſe Government was become inſupportable.

Sax. Ann. *Ethelred* at firſt did not know how to truſt to their Promiſes, being apprehenſive

* St. *Edmund's-bury.*

prehenſive of their having a Deſign to deliver him up into the Hands of his Enemies. But the good Reception his Sons met with, whom he had ſent before to ſound the People's Inclinations, giving him Encouragement, he return'd to *England*. He was receiv'd with great Demonſtrations of Joy; and his Subjects ſwore *Allegiance* to him a-new, as if he had but juſt began to reign, his Flight having been look'd upon as a ſort of *Abdication* of the Crown. For his Part, he gave his word to reform his irregular Proceeding in the Adminiſtration of his Government before his going off. The Eagerneſs of the *Engliſh* to throw off a foreign Yoke, made them flock to the King with ſuch Zeal and Haſte, that he ſoon found himſelf at the Head of a powerful Army. His firſt Expedition plainly ſhow'd his Misfortunes had made no Alteration in him. Inſtead of marching againſt the *Danes*, he led his Forces againſt the Men of *Lindſey* *, who had given him ſome cauſe of Diſguſt. After he had taken his Revenge of them, he turn'd his Army againſt the *Danes*, who little expected ſo ſudden a Revolution. Though *Canute* had on his Side all the *Danes*, and the ſame Forces his Father *Sweyn* had conquer'd *England* with, yet he did not think fit to hazard a Battle. Accordingly, before *Ethelred* had advanc'd near enough to oblige him to come to an Engagement, he led his Troops to the Sea-ſide, and embarking them, ſet ſail for *Denmark*. But before he went off, he order'd the Hands and Feet of the Hoſtages he had in his Power to be cut off, leaving them thus mangled on the Shore.

He chaſtiſes the Lindſey-men.

Canute *returns into* Denmark: *The Reaſon of it.*

The Retreat of this Prince cannot but ſeem ſtrange, ſince he had never been worſted, and beſides, had many ſtrong Places ſtill in his Hands. It is no leſs to be wonder'd at, that the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians ſhould have given us no Reaſon for this his ſudden going off. But what the *Engliſh* Hiſtory

The Cauſe of his leaving England.

* One of the three Diviſions of *Lincolnſhire*, viz *Holland*, *Keſteven*, and *Lindſey*. The *Saxon Annals* tell us, the Men of *Lindſey* had provided the *Danes* with Horſes, and deſign'd to join with them in their Ravages. *An.* MXIV.

History omits, is supplied by the *Danish*. We are inform'd that *Canute* had a younger Brother, nam'd *Harold*, who having been made Regent in the Absence of his Father *Sweyn*, seized upon the Kingdom for himself. 'Twas this that oblig'd *Canute* to leave *England* in so hasty a Manner, as seem'd rather to proceed from his Fears, than to be founded, as it was, upon sound Politicks. He could not think it his best way to abandon the Kingdom of his Ancestors, in order to endeavour to keep his Footing in a strange Country newly conquer'd and dispos'd to a general Revolt. The Truth is, had the falling off of the *English* engag'd him in a long War, what hopes of Succours could he have expected from *Denmark*, whilst the Kingdom was in the Hands of his Brother? He made it but too visible afterwards, when having settled his Affairs in the *North*, he return'd with his victorious Troops to *England*, that he was incapable of the Fears that were laid to his Charge.

Avarice and Cruelty of Ethelred.

As soon as *Ethelred* saw himself freed from the *Danes*, he never troubled himself about the Performance of the Promise he had made to his Subjects. On the contrary, he fell to his old Courses, and impos'd, on several Pretences, excessive Taxes, which rais'd great Murmurings both among the Nobles and People.

Puts two Earls to Death for their Estates.

To these Occasions of publick Complaint, he added others of a more private Nature, which destroy'd all the Hopes People had entertain'd of his Amendment. *Morkard* and *Sifferth*, Lords of *Danish* Extraction, who had all along firmly adher'd to the Interest of the King and their *new* Country, were made a Sacrifice to his Avarice. To draw them into the Snare laid for them, the King conven'd a *Great Council* at *Oxford*, where he caus'd them to be murder'd; upon which he seiz'd upon their Estates, as if they had been condemned by the common Forms of Justice *. *Algitha*, Widow to *Sifferth*, was shut up in a Monastery, to

* *Florence of Worcester*, and *Matthew Westminster* relate, that these two Earls were privately accus'd by *Edrick*, who gap'd after

to which Confinement ſhe was indebted for her after-Greatneſs. *Edmund*, the King's eldeſt Son, paſſing by that Way ſome time after, had a mind to ſee a Lady ſo renown'd for her Beauty, and fell ſo deſperately in Love with her, that he married her, even againſt his Father's Conſent.

The Marriage of his Son Edmund.

The Calm *England* enjoy'd upon the going off of the *Danes*, laſted but one Year. *Canute* having got Poſſeſſion of the Throne of *Denmark*, departed forthwith for *England*, and when he was leaſt expected, landed a numerous Army at *Sandwich*. *Ethelred* being then out of order, *Edmund* his Son, and *Streon* Duke of *Mercia*, his Son-in-law, had the Command of the Army againſt the *Danes*. *Edmund* ſoon perceiv'd his Brother-in-law was a Friend to *Canute*. This Diſcovery put him upon inventing ſome Pretence to divide the Army into two Bodies, that he might be ſeparated from him, not daring to puniſh the Traytor, for fear of exciting a Revolt in *Mercia*, where *Streon*'s Power was exceeding great. Beſides, he dreaded his Father's Diſpleaſure, who would never be perſuaded that his Son-in-law held Intelligence with the *Danes*. *Canute* taking the Advantage of this Diviſion of the Army, made large Conqueſts immediately; and the perfidious *Edrick*, who had join'd *Edmund* with no other View but to betray him, finding he had loſt his Aim, openly declar'd for *Canute*. This would have been rather an Advantage than a Detriment to the King's Affairs, if the Traytor had not carried off with him a conſiderable Body of Troops, with forty Ships

1016. Canute *returns to* England.

Is favour'd by Streon.

after their Eſtates, of treaſonable Practices againſt *Ethelred*, by whoſe Order *Edrick* invited them to a Feaſt, where he caus'd them to be treacherouſly murder'd. Their Dependents, who went about to revenge their Deaths, were forc'd to fly into St. *Frideſwide*'s Church in *Oxford*, which being ſet on Fire, they periſh'd in the Flames. But the King repenting of his Cruelty, cauſed the Church to be rebuilt. In this, and ſeveral other Particulars, it is plain, that *Ethelred* was egg'd on by the treacherous *Edrick*, to make him odious to the People; and that he was not ſo bad as is repreſented, appears from the good Laws he made, which are ſtill extant. He was ſo particularly careful of the due Execution of Juſtice, that having found one *Walgeatus*, a Judge, whom he loved, guilty of Injuſtice, he depos'd him from his Office.

Ships of War. This Desertion, which prov'd of great Moment to *Canute*, was a mortal Wound to *Ethelred*. The People in Shoals went over to the *Danes*, in Proportion as the King's Affairs went to decay. Even *Wessex* itself was not out of Danger.

Cannte *subdues all* Mercia, *and resolves upon attacking* Wessex.

Canute's Expectations being daily rais'd by these Successes, he turn'd his Arms against those of the *Mercians*, who continued in their Allegiance to the King, and at length, with the Assistance of *Streon*, entirely subdu'd them. After which, he resolv'd upon attacking *Ethelred* in *Wessex*. He had the more reason to hope for Success in this Enterprize, because *Edrick* had slily instilled into the *Mercians* that were in the *English* Army, the Notion that it was a Sin to bear Arms against a Prince that was in Possession of their Country. All that *Edmund* could bring them to was, that they would follow the King when he should command them in Person, but refused to fight under any other General. In this Extremity, *Edmund* endeavour'd to the utmost of his Power to persuade the King his Father, who feign'd himself sick at *London*, to take upon him the Command of the Army. But the more *Ethelred* was press'd to this, the more he was confirm'd in his Suspicion of their having a Design to deliver him up to the *Danes*, being persuaded that the *English* had no other way to make their Peace with them. As he durst not quit *London*, where he imagin'd himself safe, he refus'd to go to the Army; and the Prince his Son had the Mortification to see his Troops disperse, without having it in his Power to oblige them to stand a Battle. In the mean Time, *Canute* taking the Advantage of these Disorders, enlarg'd his Conquests with great Rapidity.

Ethelred's *Fears.*

He promises to head the Army.

In these wretched Circumstances, *Edmund* saw there was nothing to be done but to go himself to *London*, and endeavour to persuade the King to head the Army. He prevail'd at last with great Difficulty, and by his extraordinary Care, rais'd another Army more numerous than the former. His Design was to give *Canute* Battle, persuaded as he was, that one fortunate Blow would restore the Affairs of the *English*. *Ethelred* came to the Army as he promis'd;

promis'd; but he was no ſooner there, but his old Fears ſeiz'd him. Whether he had any Grounds for his Suſpition, or whether it was inſtill'd into him by the Traytors that were always about his Perſon, he made a very ſhort ſtay, returning to *London* with all imaginable Speed. After his Departure, the Army being much weaken'd by the Retreat of the *Mercians*, who obſtinately refus'd to fight without the King at their Head, *Edmund* was oblig'd to keep at a Diſtance from the *Danes*, for fear of engaging upon unequal Terms. Then *Canute* finding none to oppoſe him, became Maſter of ſeveral *Counties* in *Weſſex*, and ſoon found himſelf in a Condition to compleat the Conqueſt of the whole Kingdom.

Edmund perceiving it was not in his Power to ſtop the Progreſs of the Enemy, reſolved upon going to join *Uthred* Earl of *Northumberland*, who had levied ſome Troops in the *North*. They ravag'd together thoſe Parts of the Country that ſided with the *Danes*, whilſt *Canute* and the Duke of *Mercia* laid waſte the *Southern* Counties that perſiſted in their Obedience to *Ethelred*. But *Canute* did not ſuffer his Friends to be expos'd long to the Ravages of the *Engliſh*. The Moment he was informed of what was doing in the *North*, he march'd thither with the utmoſt Expedition, and compelled *Edmund* and *Uthred* to retreat into *Lancaſhire*, where they were not very ſecure. *Uthred*, finding he was no Match for *Canute*, thought it his beſt way to ſubmit to the *Daniſh* King, who continued him in his Government, though but for a little while. As he plainly ſaw the Earl had changed Sides purely by Compulſion, and that he had reaſon to fear he would not long remain faithful, he cauſed him to be put to Death, and placed a *Daniſh* Lord, nam'd *Erick*, in his Room.

Edmund *goes into the* North, *and joins* Uthred.

Canute *follows him.*

Uthred *ſubmits to him,*

and is put to Death.

Edmund being at a Loſs what to do, rerired to his Father at *London*, and earneſtly preſs'd him to exert himſelf on the preſent Occaſion; but all to no purpoſe. *Ethelred*, who till then had feigned himſelf ſick, fell dangerouſly ill in good earneſt, and died ſoon after in the 50th Year of his Age, and the 37th of his Reign. Never was *England*

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Ethelred *dies.*

in a more deplorable State, than in the Reign of this Prince.

His Issue. He had by his first Wife *Elgiva*, *Edmund*, who succeeded him, *Athelstan*, who died in his Childhood, another Son call'd *Edwy*, and three Daughters. *Edgiva* the eldest was married to an *English* Earl, who was slain in Battle. *Edgith* his second, had the Misfortune to fall to the Lot of the Traytor *Edric* Duke of *Mercia*. *Edgina* the youngest was Wife to *Uthred* Earl of *Northumberland*. By *Emma* of *Normandy* his second Wife, he had *Alfred* and *Edward*, and a Daughter named *Goda*, who was first married to *Walter* Earl of *Mantes*, and afterwards to *Eustachius* Earl of *Bulloin*.

Ethelred has the Sirname of *the Unready* given him by Historians, either because he was often surpriz'd by the *Danes*, or because he was never *Ready* when he was to go to the Wars. At his coming to the Crown, he found the Kingdom in a rich and flourishing Condition, but left it at his Death in extream Poverty and Desolation.

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16. *EDMUND* II. Sirnam'd *Ironside*.

Edmund *proclaim'd King by the* English. *The* Danes *declare for* Canute.

AFTER *Ethelred*'s Death, the City of *London* and all the Lords there present proclaimed *Edmund* his Son King of *England*, who had already given signal Proofs of his Courage and Conduct. But the *Danes*, and all the *Counties* in their Possession, declared for *Canute* *. However, as the *English* obeyed him against their Wills, abundance of them came over to *Edmund*, whom they looked upon as their lawful Prince, tho' they had been constrained to take their Oaths to his Rival. By this means the two Kings

* *Simeon of Durham*, and others, say, that the Bishops, Abbots, and many of the *English* Nobles, coming to *Southampton*, abjur'd the Race of *Ethelred*, at the same time they chose *Canute* for their King, and swore Fealty to him; who also swore to them in Matters *Ecclesiastical* and *Civil*, to be their faithful Lord.

Kings were more upon a Level, which occaſion'd many Engagements with various Succeſs, that ſerv'd only to prolong the War, but not to decide the Quarrel. The City of *London* being a great Support to *Edmund*, the *Daniſh* King thought if he could but take it from him, he ſhould, by depriving him of his main Dependance, quickly put an End to the War. With this view, whilſt *Edmund* was elſewhere employ'd, he marched towards *London*, and ſitting down before it, vigorouſly puſh'd on the Siege. But the brave Reſiſtance of the Citizens having given *Edmund* time to throw in ſome Recruits from the other Side of the *Thames*, *Canute* ſaw himſelf oblig'd to deſiſt from his Enterprize. Having thus loſt his Aim, he us'd abundance of Stratagems to ſurprize the Enemy, or to draw him off from *London*. This laſt Project taking, he went and laid Siege a ſecond time to the City. But he met with the ſame Difficulties as before, the Inhabitants defended themſelves ſo obſtinately, that *Edmund* had time to come to their Relief.

London *beſieg'd twice, and both times reliev'd.*

Canute, enrag'd to ſee his Meaſures thus broken, ſuddenly rais'd the Siege, in order to give *Edmund* Battle, who was no leſs deſirous of deciding the Quarrel by one ſingle Action, and therefore inſtead of retreating, march'd towards him. In this Battle, which was a very bloody one, they both gave ſignal Proofs of their Conduct and Courage, without either of them being able to make Victory incline to his Side. After a long Fight, the two Armies were oblig'd to part with equal Loſs. The *Engliſh* Army however had like to have been worſted by the Artifice of *Edric Streon*, who was on the Side of the *Danes*. This Lord perceiving that the *Engliſh* Troops, contrary to his Expectations, fought in ſuch a Manner as made the Victory dubious, cut off the Head of one *Oſmer* a Soldier, who very much reſembled *Edmund*, and fixing it on the Top of his Lance, advanc'd to the foremoſt Ranks, and expoſing it to the view of the *Engliſh*, cry'd out aloud, *Fly, fly, you Scoundrels, behold the Head of your King, in whom you truſt.* The *Engliſh* were Thunder-ſtruck at this Sight, which would have occaſi-

A Battle, where neither Side had the Victory.

Artifice of Edric *to diſhearten the* Engliſh.

on'd their Defeat, had not the King ſhown himſelf with his Helmet off, to his aſtoniſh'd Troops, and by that means raiſed their Courage again, which the belief of his Death had begun to abate. The Battle having laſted till Night, without any viſible Advantage on either Side, *Edmund* prepar'd to renew the Fight next Morning. But *Canute*, who had other Deſigns in view, marched off during the Night *. He retreated to his Fleet, and having embarked his Men, rowed along the Coaſt for ſome Time, to amuſe the Enemy, who could not gueſs at his Intentions. When he thought he had put *Edmund* upon a wrong Scent, he landed his Forces, and went and beſieged *London* a third Time. But ſucceeding no better than formerly, he marched off elſewhere.

Canute withdraws in the Night;

and beſieges London again without Succeſs.

Five Battles between Edmund and Canute in one Year.

The Particulars of this War would be curious enough, if it were poſſible to give a clear Account of them. But we meet with nothing but Confuſion in this Part of the *Engliſh* Hiſtory. What may be gathered from Hiſtorians for certain, is this, that the two contending Princes fought within the ſpace of one Year, five pitched Battles. One of which would have infallibly proved fatal to *Canute*, had it not been for the pernicious Advice of *Edric Streon*, who continually changing Sides, was then in the *Engliſh* Army. *Edmund* had been ſo generous as to pardon him, and ſo eaſy as to give Credit to the Oaths he had ſworn of being entirely devoted to his Service for the future. Notwithſtanding, this Traytor, who was a Creature of the King of *Denmark*, let no Opportunity ſlip that offered it ſelf, of doing the *Danes* a ſignal Service. As he ſaw the *Danes* were hard preſſed by the *Engliſh*, and retreating in great Diſorder, he found the Means to perſwade *Edmund* to deſiſt from purſuing them, by making him apprehenſive, leaſt their Deſpair ſhould make them rally again, and the Victory, by ſome unforeſeen

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The fatal Advice of Edric to the King.

* This Battle was fought at *Sceorſtan*, which *Camden* ſuppoſes to be *Sherſton* in *Wiltſhire*; others think it to be the Place where four Stones, call'd *Shire-Stones*, part the four Counties at *Oxford*, *Gloceſter*, *Worceſter*, and *Warwick*. *Milton* makes the Battle to have laſted two whole Days, and *Canute* to have march'd off the ſecond Night.

unforeſeen Accident, be ſnatch'd out of his Hands. This Artifice, which had before taken with *Ethelred*, had the ſame Effect on *Edmund*, who ſuffered himſelf to be guided by this fatal Advice. It is difficult to know which is moſt to be wondered at, the Imprudence of *Edmund* in being governed by the Councils of one, whoſe Treachery ought to be ſo well known to him, or the Boldneſs and Confidence of the Traytor. Tired at length with diſſembling his real Sentiments, he threw off his Mask in the laſt Battle at *Aſſandun* *. Whilſt the two Armies were engaged, he deſerted his Poſt, and went and joined the *Danes*, who received him as their real Friend. This Piece of Treachery cauſed ſuch a Conſternation among the *Engliſh*, that throwing down their Arms, they thought of nothing but ſaving themſelves by Flight. *Edmund*'s Loſs upon this Occaſion was irretrievable, the Flower of the *Engliſh* Nobility being cut off in this unfortunate Battle. The Earls *Alfrick*, *Goodwin*, *Ulfketel*, *Ethelward*, all diſtinguiſhed for their Valour and Loyalty, fell that Day with their Swords in their Hands in defenſe of their King and Country.

The Battle of Aſſundun, *wherein* Canute *gains the Victory by the Treachery of* Edric.

After this important Victory, *Canute* looked upon himſelf as irreſiſtable. He could not conceive that *Edmund* would ever be able to bring another Army into the Field that durſt look him in the Face. But as the *Engliſh* were driven to their laſt Shifts, they exerted their utmoſt in this Extremity of Danger. *Edmund* had the Hearts of his Subjects on his Side, and particularly the *Londoners*, who were always ready to give him effectual Proofs of their Affection and Loyalty. And therefore, ſo far was he from letting his Courage ſink at this unlucky Turn of Affairs, that he rallied his diſperſed Troops; and having drawn together a more powerful Army than what he had loſt, he went in queſt of his Enemy, who was marching towards *Glouceſter*. *Canute* for his Part, unwilling to give him Time to augment his Forces, marched towards him with a Deſign to give

Edmund *gets another Army on Foot.*

* *Aſhdown* in *Eſſex* near *Billericay*. *Canute* built a Church here in Memory of this Battle.

give him Battle. The two Kings ſtood in view of one another for ſome Time, at the Head of their reſpective Armies, without either of them giving the Signal of Battle. The Dread of the Event held them equally in ſuſpence. *Edmund* was ſenſible he was undone, if he loſt the Day; and *Canute* foreſaw the general Defection of the *Engliſh* would be the Conſequence of his being worſted. Thus, in all Appearance, the Gain or Loſs of a great Kingdom depended on the Fortune of that important Day. At laſt *Edmund*, who was ſtrong and robuſt of Body, and for that Reaſon Sirnam'd *Iron-ſide*, ſent Word to *Canute*, that in order to prevent the Effuſion of ſo much Blood, as was going to be ſpilt in their Quarrel, he judg'd it proper for them Two to decide the Matter by ſingle Combat. *Canute* return'd in Anſwer, That though he came not behind his Antagoniſt in Courage, yet being of a weak Conſtitution and ſmall Stature, he ſhould take care how he engag'd in ſo unequal a Combat. He added, if *Edmund* was deſirous to prevent any further Effuſion of Blood, he was ready to refer the Deciſion of Matters to the Principal Officers of the two Armies. This Propoſal was receiv'd with Joy by the Nobles of *Edmund*'s Party, who paſſionately deſired to find out ſome Expedient to put an End to ſo fatal a War. *Edmund*, on the contrary, would fain have decided the Quarrel by Arms, but however durſt not oppoſe the Nobility, for fear his ſtanding out ſhould occaſion their abandoning him. *Plenipotentiaries* therefore were nominated on both Sides, who were to meet in a little Iſle in the *Severn*, call'd *Alney*, over againſt *Glouceſter*, to conſult how to regulate the Pretenſions of the two Princes. After a ſhort Conference, the Peace was concluded by the Partition of the Kingdom. *Weſſex*, that is, all the Country lying South of the *Thames*, with the City of *London*, and Part of the antient Kingdom of *Eſſex*, was aſſign'd to *Edmund*. *Canute* had for his Share the Kingdom of *Mercia*, including *Northumberland* and *Eaſt-Anglia*. Matters being thus regulated, the two Kings met in the *Iſle of Alney*; and having

Edmund *ſends a Challenge to* Canute, *who refuſes to accept it.*

The Peace is made up by the Diviſion of the Kingdom.

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ing mutually ſwore to preſerve the Peace, *Edmund* retired into *Weſſex*.

Edmund's challenging *Canute* has given Occaſion to ſome Hiſtorians to affirm, that the two Kings actually fought a Duel in the *Iſle of Alney*. And to make this appear the more probable, they have taken care to be very particular in the Circumſtances of this mighty Combat. They tell us, that after it had laſted a good while without any Advantage on either Side, *Canute* finding his Strength to fail him, lifted up the Viſor of his Helmet, and propos'd the Diviſion of the Kingdom, which *Edmund* conſented to upon the Spot. It is further added, that at the ſame Inſtant, they ran to embrace one another, to the Aſtoniſhment of the two Armies, who were Spectators. But the beſt Hiſtorians not ſaying a Word of this ſingle Combat, one can't conceive they ſhould omit to embelliſh their Hiſtories with the Relation of it, had there been any Foundation for it *. *Remarks on the pretended Duel between the two Kings.*

Edmund enjoy'd not long the Peace, that had coſt him ſo much Pains. *Edric Streon*, his Brother-in-law, fearing the Union of the two Kings might prove fatal to him, brib'd two of the King's Chamberlains to aſſaſſinate him. Some report, he employ'd his own Son in this execrable Treaſon. Thus died that brave Prince, who deſerv'd a better Fate *1. He had not ſat on the Throne a whole Year. 1017. Edmund's Death.

But

* *Ethelred*, Abbot of *Rievalle*, gives a very particular Account of what paſs'd before, at, and after this famous Duel. With him agree *Huntingdon*, and *Matthew of Weſtminſter*. *Malmsbury* ſays, *Edmund* challeng'd *Canute*, but he declin'd the Combat, and offered to divide the Kingdom. *Simeon of Durham*, and *Hoveden*, mention nothing of the Challenge or Duel, but only ſpeak of the Diviſion of the Kingdom by the Perſwaſion of *Edric*, in the ſame Manner as the *Saxon Annals*. So great is the uncertainty of this Fact.

*1 *Malmsbury* and *Brompton* relate, that the two Villains ſtabb'd him with a ſharp Piece of Iron, as he was eaſing Nature. Some will have him to be taken off by Poiſon: Others to be ſlain by an Arrow ſhot by an Image made on Purpoſe, which diſcharged it ſelf upon the King's touching it. But this is improbable. The *Annals* ſay only, he died ſuddenly. He was buried by his Grandfather *Edgar* at *Glaſſenbury*. With him fell the Glory of the *Engliſh Saxons*, and

But in so short a Reign, he had given frequent Proofs of an undaunted Courage, a consummate Prudence, and a bountiful Temper.

He left Issue, by *Algitha* his Wife, two Sons, *Edmund* and *Edward*, of whom I shall have occasion to speak hereafter. He had also a natural Son, nam'd *Edwy*, whom *Canute* put to Death some Time after.

Canute's *Promise to* Edric. The Duke of *Mercia*, who was mightily pleas'd with having done *Canute* so great a Piece of Service, hasted with all speed to bring the first News of it to him; but *Canute* detested so barbarous a Deed. However he conceal'd his Sentiments of the Matter, because he thought he might have farther Occasion for the Traytor, and promis'd *to advance him above all the Peers of the Realm.* He kept his Word with him; but it was in a very different Manner from what the Villain expected.

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17. *CANUTE* the Great.

1017. Canute *gets himself acknowledg'd King of all* England. THE Death of *Edmund* furnished *Canute* with an Opportunity and Pretence of becoming Master of *Wessex*, which the lawful Heirs were hardly in a Condition to dispute with him. It was not properly by Force of Arms, that he gain'd his Point, but by extorting the Consent of the Nobles. How averse soever the *English* might be to the Government of the *Danes*, he was in hopes that the Dread of bringing new Calamities on the Kingdom, would sway with them more, and constrain them to comply with what he wanted. With this View, he got an *Assembly General* to be conven'd in *Wessex*, in order to lay his Claim before them, reckoning it would be Time enough to use Force, in case he met with great Opposition. *Edmund* having left behind him two Sons and two Brothers, *Canute*

and by his Death the *Danes* prevail'd, and the *Saxon Monarchy* in a manner ended, after it had lasted 190 Years from the Establishment by *Egbert*, 432 from the founding of the *Heptarchy*, and 568 from the Arrival of the *Saxons* under *Hengist*.

Canute did not ſeem to have any Right to pretend to the Crown. But he inſiſted upon it, that in the Treaty of *the Iſle of Alney*, the Agreement was, that the longeſt Liver of the two Kings ſhould ſucceed the other. He moreover gave them to underſtand plain enough, he ſhould not ſtand to the Determination of the *Aſſembly*, if they decided the Matter againſt him. *Edmund*'s two Sons were very young, and his Brothers were in *Normandy*, where they thought of nothing leſs than the obtaining of the Crown of *Weſſex*. On the other Hand, *Canute* was in great Power, and threatned hard. Beſides his being in Poſſeſſion of half the Kingdom, he had abundance of Friends among the *Weſt-Saxons* themſelves, without reckoning thoſe who were perſwaded any Expedient was preferable to the renewing of the War. It was therefore ſcarce poſſible for the Friends of the *Engliſh* Princes to get over ſo great Obſtacles. Had they been reſolutely bent to have continued the Succeſſion in the Family of *Edmund*; in all probability, they would have kindled afreſh in the Kingdom a War, which muſt have ended in its Deſtruction. In this Perplexity, they were contented with intimating, that they agreed *Canute* ſhould be declared the *Protector* of *Edmund*'s Children, till the eldeſt ſhould be of a fit Age to reign. By this Means, tho' they plac'd not theſe Princes on the Throne, at leaſt they preſerv'd their Rights entire. But *Canute* was not ſatisfied with a borrowed Power. He was willihg to ſucceed *Edmund* in his own Right, by vertue of the Treaty of *Alney*; a Right, which tho' all did not acknowledge, yet none durſt openly conteſt. Tho' the Treaty did not expreſly ſay what he aſſerted, he maintain'd it was the true Senſe and Meaning of it, and that it could not be otherwiſe underſtood without Infringment. To make appear that this was the Deſign and Intention of the Parties concern'd in the Treaty, he call'd to Witneſs all thoſe who were preſent at the Concluſion of the Peace, and demanded of them, whether there was any Thing ſtipulated in Favour of *Edmund*'s Sons? And upon their anſwering, there was no mention at all of the Princes, he inferr'd from thence they had no Right to ſucceed their Father.

Sim. Dun. Hoveden.

Father. This Reaſoning, weak as it was, being back'd by the Votes of his Party, and moreover by the Fears of the *Engliſh* in general, was ſufficient to bring over the *Aſſembly* to do as he would have them. They thought, or pretended to think, his Reaſons were very ſolid; and ſo without examining Matters too cloſely, they acknowledged and proclaimed him King of all *England*; and all the Lords, both *Engliſh* and *Daniſh*, ſwore Allegiance to him. After which he was crown'd, and then divided the Kingdom into four Parts or Governments, *Mercia*, *Northumberland*, *Eaſt-Anglia* and *Weſſex*. The firſt he gave to *Edric Streon*, the ſecond to *Eric*, the third to *Turkill*, reſerving *Weſſex* to himſelf, without appointing either *Duke* or *Earl* over it.

He divides England *into four Parts.* Malm. *l.* 2. *c.* 21. Hunt.

Canute was too politick not to know the Motive of the *Engliſh* acknowledging him for their Sovereign. Tho' all thoſe that came near him, took care to hide their Sentiments, he was ſenſible an Animoſity of near two Hundred Years ſtanding, and fomented by continual Wars, could not be extinguiſh'd in ſo ſhort a Time. This was the Reaſon he reſolv'd to uſe all poſſible Caution, to prevent the Revolt of the *Engliſh*. To this End two Things were equally neceſſary, *viz.* the gaining the Affections of his new Subjects, and the getting rid of thoſe that gave him any Uneaſineſs. Tho' theſe two Projects ſeem'd incompatible, he deſpair'd not however of Succeſs, and accordingly ſpent the Beginning of his Reign in bringing them about. As he was not ignorant, that the moſt effectual Means of becoming Popular, was to cauſe Juſtice to be adminiſtred fairly and impartially, he publickly declared that for the future, he would make no Diſtinction between the *Engliſh* and *Danes*. After this, he publiſh'd an Edict, wherein it was order'd that every *County* ſhould be govern'd by the ſame Laws as in the Time of the *Saxon* Kings. He excepted however the *Northern Counties*, becauſe they were peopled with ſcarce any other but *Danes*, who had introduc'd particular Laws of their own, which there was no occaſion to alter. The ſame Edict denounc'd the ſevereſt Puniſhments againſt Malefactors, of

He lays a Scheme *of getting rid of his Enemies, and gaining the Love of the People.*

what

what Nation ſoever; the King's Aim being to let the *Engliſh* ſee, they had no Reaſon to fear any Reſpect of Perſons. Theſe wiſe Regulations produc'd the deſir'd Effect. The People were never weary of ſhowing Signs of the greateſt Joy and Satisfaction, at being govern'd by their antient Laws, under the Protection of an equitable Prince, who ſeem'd to have no other View but the Happineſs of his Subjects.

He endeavours to get rid of the Engliſh *Princes.*

As ſoon as *Canute* ſaw the Progreſs he had made in gaining the Hearts of the *Engliſh*, he believ'd he might venture without any Danger upon the ſecond Branch of his *Scheme*, the getting rid of thoſe that gave him the moſt Uneaſineſs, particularly the *Saxon* Princes. *Alfred* and *Edward*, Brothers to the late King, were retir'd into *Normandy*, with their Mother *Emma*, plainly foreſeeing it would not be in the Power of the *Weſt-Saxons* to do Juſtice to the Royal Family. As for *Edmund*'s two Sons, they remain'd in *England*, being too young to think of providing for their Safety. Theſe two Princes, notwithſtanding their Youth, made the new King ſomewhat uneaſie, by reaſon of the Affection the People had for them. He would not have ſcrupled to put them to Death; but he could not do it in *England*, without running the Risk of becoming odious to the *Engliſh*, which was running counter to his Deſigns. However, as he did not think all ſafe, whilſt the two Princes were alive, he gave them in Charge to one of his Domeſticks to carry them into *Denmark*, under a Pretence of ſended them Abroad to travel. But in reality it was only to have it in his Power the more eaſily to diſpatch them out of the way, when their Abſence ſhould have abated the Affection of the People. The Perſon entruſted with the Princes, being conſcious of the King's Deſign, was touch'd with Compaſſion for the innocent Princes, and inſtead of carrying them to *Denmark*, had them to the King of *Sweden*, diſcovering at the ſame Time his Maſter's Intentions. The King of *Sweden* gave the *Engliſh* Princes a very civil Reception: But however, not to break with *Canute*, he ſent them to the Court of *Solomon*, King of *Hungary*, his Relation, who was willing

Sends Edmund's *two Sons into* Denmark.

But they are carried to Sweden

and from thence to Hungary, *where* Edmund *dies.*

to take Care of their Education. In process of Time, *Solomon* gave one of his Daughters in Marriage to *Edmund*; and to *Edward* his Sister-in-law *Agitha*, the Daughter of the Emperor *Henry* II. *Edmund* died soon after his Marriage; but *Edward* had five Children, of whom two died in *Hungary*: The rest were, *Edgar Atheling*, *Margaret*, and *Christian*.

The two Edwy's are banish'd.

There were still in *England* two Sons of *Ethelred* II, who were both nam'd *Edwy*, and of whom one was born in Wedlock, the other a Bastard. This last was call'd, but for what Reason is unknown, *The King of the Clowns*. *Canute* was no less perplex'd about these than the other Princes, every Thing contributing to the Suspicions of a Prince, who not being satisfied with the Lawfulness of his Title, thinks himself not firmly seated on the Throne. And therefore to make himself easy in this respect, he banish'd them the Realm. But some time after, having recall'd the first, under Pretence of being reconcil'd to him, got him dispatch'd out of the way. The other, after having endur'd a great many Hardships in his Exile, return'd privately into *England*, where he kept himself concealed, being supplied underhand by his Friends with Necessaries for his Subsistence (*a*) *.

Recalls one, and puts him to Death.

Canute would have been very glad to have got rid, with the same Ease, of the Trouble *Alfred* and *Edward*, *Edmund*'s Brothers, who were retir'd into *Normandy* with their Mother, gave him. But he knew not how to get them out of the Hands of Duke *Richard* II, their Uncle. He was even apprehensive that this Prince, whose Forces were not to be despis'd, wou'd one Day espouse their Cause. To prevent this, he bethought himself of bringing him over to his Interests by demanding in Marriage his Sister *Emma*, Widow of *Ethelred* II, and by offering him at the same Time one of his own Sisters, nam'd

Canute *marries* Emma *of* Normandy.

(*a*) These two *Edwy*'s are confounded by several Historians; but they are plainly distinguish'd in the *Saxon Annals*, and in the *Genealogy* at the End of the History of *Alfred*, written by *Spelman*.

* *Malmsbury* says, he was buried at *Tavistock* in *Devonshire*.

nam'd *Eſtrith*. Theſe Propoſals being accepted, the two Marriage-Solemnities were celebrated in a magnificent Manner. If *Emma* was pleas'd with being once more made Queen of *England*, it was not ſo with *Alfred* and *Edward* her Sons, who openly ſhew'd their Diſlike of the Matter. *Edward* eſpecially, never forgave her for thus ſcandalouſly eſpouſing the mortal Foe of her firſt Husband. Both of them were alſo extremely incens'd againſt her for conſenting that the Succeſſion to the Crown ſhould be ſettled by the Marriage-Articles, on the Heirs of her Body by *Canute*. This was cutting off, as far as lay in her Power, from the Family of *Ethelred*, all Hopes of ever mounting the Throne.

One of the Marriage-Articles.

After *Canute* had thus ſecur'd himſelf from all Danger from the *Saxon* Princes, he thought it high time to get rid of ſome Lords, whoſe Fidelity he ſuſpected, or whoſe Power made him uneaſy. The three principal ones were the Duke of *Mercia*, the Duke of *Eaſt-Anglia*, and the Earl of *Northumberland*. Theſe Lords had done him ſignal Services; but this was the very thing that render'd them obnoxious to him, becauſe he was very ſenſible how much it lay in their Power to do him a Prejudice, if they had a mind to it. He knew *Edric Streon* was a Villain, and as he could not depend on his Fidelity, ſince he had ſo often betray'd the two preceeding Kings, from whom he receiv'd ſo many Favours, he reſolv'd to begin with him. He quickly found an Opportunity to execute his Deſign, by even doing an Act of Juſtice very acceptable to the *Engliſh*. This Lord having had one Day the Inſolence to upbraid him publickly, for not having rewarded him for his paſt Services, particularly for ridding him of ſo formidable a Rival as was *Edmund*, afforded him the Opportunity he had ſome Time been waiting for. *Edric* had no ſooner dropt theſe Words, but the King anſwer'd in a Rage, That ſince he had been ſo audacious as openly to avow ſo black a Treaſon, of which he had hitherto been only ſuſpected, he ſhould receive his due Puniſhment. At the ſame Inſtant, without giving him time to reply, he commanded him to be

Canute *diſpatches ſome Lords he was jealous of.*

Edric Streon *put to Death.* Brompton

be beheaded upon the Spot, and his Body to be thrown into the *Thames*. 'Tis ſaid, he order'd his Head to be fix'd on the higheſt Part of the Tower of *London*, that he might keep his Word with him, when he promis'd the Traytor, *to raiſe him above all the Peers of the Realm*. Thus *Edric* receiv'd at laſt the juſt Reward of his Treacheries. *Eric*, Earl of *Northumberland*, was baniſhed the Kingdom ſhortly after, under ſome Pretence. *Turkil*, Duke of *Eaſt-Anglia*, frightned by theſe Examples, and perhaps by the King's Emiſſaries, voluntarily went into Baniſhment, for fear ſomething worſe might befal him. Several other Lords of leſs Note falling a Sacrifice to the King's Jealouſy or Suſpicions, their Poſts were fill'd with thoſe he could place a greater Confidence in. From this time the *Engliſh* began to enjoy a State of Tranquillity, which appear'd the ſweeter to them, as they had been many Years without it, and as they had no room to expect it. However they were forc'd
1018. to pay a Tax of fourſcore thouſand Pounds *, to defray the Arrears due to the *Daniſh* Army, great Part of which were ſent back to *Denmark*.

1019. *Canute* finding the Kingdom was in profound Tranquillity, and that he had no reaſon to fear the revolting of the *Engliſh*, reſolv'd upon a Voyage to *Denmark*. His Preſence was abſolutely neceſſary there, on account of the *Danes* and *Vandals* being at War. He took with him ſuch of the *Engliſh* Lords as he was jealous of, leaſt his Abſence ſhould put them upon exciting Troubles in the Kingdom. For this reaſon alſo he carried along with him the Flower of the *Engliſh* Troops, under the Command of Earl *Goodwin*, the Son of *Ulnoth*, mention'd in the Reign of *Ethelred* II. *Goodwin*, who was a Man of great Abilities and Experience, ſignaliz'd himſelf in this War, by a very bold though ſucceſsful Action. The two Armies of *Danes* and *Vandals* being

Canute goes to Denmark, to war againſt the Vandals.

A bold Action of Earl Goodwin.

* The *Saxon Annals*, Anno MXVIII. ſay, it was ſeventy two thouſand Pounds, beſides eleven (*Florence* ſays fifteen) Thouſand paid by the City of *London*. Hence may be ſeen the flouriſhing Condition of that City in thoſe Days, ſince it could pay almoſt a ſixth Part of this great Tax.

being near one another, *Canute* deſign'd to attack the Enemy next Morning, as ſoon as Day ſhould appear. Whilſt his Troops were refreſhing themſelves a little, in expectation of the Battle, *Goodwin* privately withdrawing from the Camp, with a Body of Troops under his Command, went and fell upon the *Vandals* during the Night, and putting them in Diſorder by this ſudden Attack, made a great Slaughter of them, and put the whole Army to Rout. At break of Day, *Canute* preparing for the Battle, and not finding the *Engliſh* at their Station, did not queſtion but they were revolted to the Enemy. While he was perplex'd in his Thoughts at this unexpected Accident, he ſaw the *Engliſh* General arrive, who was come himſelf to bring him News of his Victory. Though this Action was of a dangerous Conſequence, the King however was very willing upon this Occaſion to diſpence with the Diſcipline of War, which requir'd that *Goodwin* ſhould be puniſh'd for having dar'd to fight without Orders. He receiv'd him with abundance of Careſſes, and as a Reward for ſo ſignal a Service, creted him Earl of *Kent*. I ſhall have frequent Occaſion hereafter to ſpeak of this Earl, who became at length the greateſt Lord in *England*.

This War being happily ended, *Canute* return'd into *England*, where immediately upon his Arrival he conven'd the *Great Council*, in order to have the *Daniſh* Laws enforc'd, which, for ſome time, had been obſerv'd in Part of the Kingdom, and particularly in *Northumberland*. There were then in *England* three ſorts of Laws, namely, the *Weſt-Saxon*, *Mercian* and *Daniſh* Laws *. But theſe laſt had

Three ſorts of Laws in England.

* *Weſt-Saxenlaga*, *Merchenlaga*, and *Denalaga*. Biſhop *Nicolſon* in his Letter to Dr. *Wilkins*, prefix'd to his Edition of the *Saxon* Laws, makes it appear that this threefold Diviſion of the *Engliſh* Laws is imaginary, and proceeded from the *Norman* Interpreters miſtaking the meaning of the Word *Laga*, which they thought was the ſame with *Ley* or *Law*. Whereas *Laga* ſignifies *Region*, *Territory* or *Province*, as is plain from ſeveral Places in the *Saxon* Laws, where *on Denalaga* means the ſame as *among the Danes*, or *in the Territories of the* Danes. *See* p. 53. *and* 135. of Dr. *Wilkin's Anglo-Saxon* Laws. The Author of the Dialogue *De Scaccario*, was the firſt that led the Way in this Error, *l.* 1. *c.* 16.

had not the Sanction of publick Authority, till *Canute*, at his return from *Denmark*, put them on the ſame Foot with the antient Laws in *England*.

1025. *Expedition of* Canute *againſt the* Swedes.

Canute, ever ſince his return into *England*, liv'd in profound Tranquillity, wholly taken up in cauſing Juſtice and Peace to flouriſh, and in making his Subjects happy. But ſome time after he was oblig'd to break off theſe pacifick Employments, in order to take a ſecond Voyage to *Denmark*, then invaded by the *Swedes*. He came off but very lamely in this Expedition. The *Engliſh* Troops he carried with him ſuffer'd very much, and he had the Mortification to meet with a more rugged Treatment than he had been accuſtomed to.

1027. *He becomes Maſter of* Norway.

Hoved. Malm. Dunelm.

Two Years after, having forgot his ill Succeſs againſt the *Swedes*, he enter'd into another War, which made ample amends for his former Loſſes. He took a Reſolution to revive ſome old Pretenſions to *Norway*, which had never been fully clear'd up. *Olaüs*, who then ſat on the Throne of *Norway*, was an eaſy and a weak Prince. *Canute* thought he could never meet with a more favourable Opportunity to aſſert his Claim, than in the Reign of this Prince. He began his Deſign with privately forming a ſtrong Party among the *Norwegian* Lords. And as ſoon as Matters were ripe, he ſail'd for *Denmark* with a conſiderable Body of *Engliſh* Troops, and on a ſudden landed them in *Norway*. *Olaüs*, who had no Intelligence of his ſecret Practices, being ſurpriz'd at this unexpected Attack, and more ſo, ſeeing the major Part of his Subjects ſide with the Enemy, found he had no other Courſe to take but to abandon his Kingdom, and ſave himſelf by Flight. Upon his going off, *Canute* was crown'd King of *Norway*, never troubling himſelf about the Right, ſo long as he had the Power in his Hands. Two Years after the depos'd Prince making an Attempt to recover his Dominions, was ſlain by his own Subjects, and *Canute* remain'd in peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom. *Olaüs*, after his Death, was rank'd among the *Saints*, and honour'd with the glorious Title of *Martyr*.

The

The Conqueſt of *Norway* fully ſatisfied *Canute*'s Ambition. From that time, laying aſide all Thoughts of warlike Affairs, he gave himſelf up to Acts of Devotion: That is to ſay, he made it his principal Buſineſs to enrich the Churches and Monaſteries; as if the Uſurpation of two Kingdoms, and all the conſequent Evils were to be compounded for by ſo ſlight a Satisfaction. Among other things he took particular Care to give publick Marks of his Reſpect to St. *Edmund*, formerly King of *Eaſt-Anglia*, ſlain by the *Danes*. Perhaps he gave ſome Credit to the Story of his Father *Sweyn*'s being kill'd by that *Saint*, or rather, he was willing by this Means to ſtifle the Noiſe that was made about it. However this be, he built a ſtately Church over the Grave of this Prince, and very much enlarg'd the Town where his Body lay buried, which from him had the Name of St. *Edmundsbury*. The Monaſtery, which was in the ſame Place, and call'd *Breadicſworth*, had been endowed by *Edward the Elder*. *Canute* having enlarg'd the Building, and augmented the Revenues, this *Religious Houſe* became one of the fineſt and richeſt in the Kingdom *.

Canute turns his Thoughts to Acts of Devotion.

After he had ſhown, as he thought, viſible Marks of his Devotion, he reſolv'd upon a Journey to *Rome*, which he perform'd in 1031. Whilſt he ſtaid there he made many large Preſents to the Churches, confirm'd all his Predeceſſors had done both for the *Church of Rome* and the *Engliſh College*. He obtain'd alſo for his Part certain

1032. *He goes to* Rome.

* *Leland*, who was an Eye witneſs of this Town and Manaſtery in their Splendor, gives this Deſcription of them. *A City more neatly ſeated the Sun never ſaw, hanging upon a gentle Deſcent, with a little River on its Eaſt-ſide; nor a Monaſtery more great and ſtately, whether we conſider the Endowments, Largeneſs, or unparallell'd Magnificence. The Monaſtery it ſelf looks like a City, ſo many Gates it has (ſome whereof are Braſs) ſo many Towers, and a Church, than which nothing can be more ſtately, to which as Appendages, there are 3 more of admirable Beauty and Workmanſhip in the ſame Church-yard.* There are two ſtill entire, *viz.* St. *Mary*'s and St. *James*'s; the third, which lies in Ruins, was the Great Church of the Monaſtery. Beſides the immenſe Value of the Gifts at St. *Edmund*'s Tomb, the Revenues at the Diſſolution amounted to 1560 *l.* a Year; a large Sum in thoſe Days. See *Camden* in *Suffolk*.

Privileges for the *English Churches*, and some Advantages for those who came to visit the *Tombs of the Apostles*. But the most material Privilege he procur'd for the *English*, was an Exemption from paying any Toll as they pass through *Italy*. The Emperor *Conradus* I. who was then at *Rome*, and with whom he had contracted a strict Friendship, granted him the same Privilege in his Dominions, as did also the King of *France* in his. By this means the *English* Pilgrims and other Travellers were eas'd of a great Expence, and freed from a Thousand Insults and Oppressions they were before liable to in *France*, *Italy* and *Germany*. We have a large Account of these Matters in a Letter this Monarch writ from *Rome*, to the *Assembly-General* of the *English* Nation, wherein he informs them of what he had done in Favour of his Subjects. In this Letter he professes a great deal of Piety, and a fix'd Resolution to govern his Kingdom after the most exact Rules of Justice, desiring at the same time his *Nobles* to assist him in this good Design *.

His Letter to the English.

He returns to England

As soon as he came back ro *England*, he applied himself to the *Dedication* of the Church of St. *Edmund*, which he had begun building before his Journey to *Rome*. In fine, after he had spent some Years longer in continual Acts of Devotion *1, he died in 1036, in the 19th Year of his Reign *2.

1036. *He dies.*

Historians

* This Epistle, which is extant in *Malmsbury*, was sent into *England* by *Livingus* Abbot of *Tavistock*. It was adress'd thus; *To* Æthelnoth *Bishop of* Canterbury; *to* Alfric *of* York, *with all the Bishops and Primates; and to all the* English *Nation, as well Nobles as Plebeans, Health*, &c.

*1 He founded also the noted Abby of St. *Bennet's* in *Holme* in *Norfolk*. He gave rich and extraordinary Jewels to the Church of *Wincheſter*, of which one is recorded to be a *Cross*, worth one Year's Revenue of the Kingdom. It was consum'd with the Abby by Fire in *Henry* I's Time. He gave also to *Coventry* the Arm of St. *Augustin* the great Doctor, which he bought at *Pavia* in his Return from *Rome*, and is said to give for it a hundred Talents of Silver and one of Gold.

*2 He died at *Shaftsbury* the 12th of *November*, and was buried in the old Monastery in *Wincheſter*.

Hiſtorians have not fail'd to give this Prince the Sirname of *Great*; a Title which Conquerors ſeem to affect, as if true Grandeur conſiſted in invading the Rights and Properties of others. But not to confine Grandeur within ſuch narrow Bounds, *Canute* may be ſaid to merit this glorious Title, if we conſider only the latter Part of his Reign. The End of his Life was widely different from the Beginning. One would have thought he had not been the ſame Prince, who to gain Kingdoms that belong'd not to him, had caus'd ſo much Blood to be ſpilt, and had trampled under Foot Religion and Juſtice. Some Years before his Death, he became Humble, Modeſt, Juſt, and truly Religious. If Hiſtorians have not carried Matters too far in what they ſay of him, from the time he was thoroughly ſettled on the Throne of *England*, he gave daily Marks of Piety, Juſtice, Moderation, which gain'd him the Love and Affection of his Subjects, and an univerſal Eſteem among Foreigners. We have the following Story of him, which ſhows at once his good Senſe, and to what Heighth his Courtiers had carried their Flatteries. One Day, as he was walking by the Sea-ſide *, they that were with him, extolled him to the Skies, and even proceeded ſo far as to compare him with God himſelf. Offended at theſe extravagant Praiſes, and willing to make them ſenſible of their Folly and Impiety, he order'd a Chair to be brought him, and ſeating himſelf in a Place where the Tide was about to flow, he turn'd to the Sea, and ſaid; *O Sea, thou art under my Dominion, and the Land I ſit on is mine: I charge thee not to preſume to approach any farther, nor to dare to wet the Feet of thy Sovereign.* Having ſaid this, he ſat ſtill for ſome time, as if he expected the Sea ſhould obey his Commands. But as the Tide came rolling on as uſual, he took Occaſion from thence to let his baſe Flatterers know, that the Titles of *Lord* and *Maſter* belong only to him whom the Land and the Sea obey. It is ſaid, from that Moment he would never wear his Crown again, but ordered it to be put on the Head of the *Crucifix* at *Wincheſter*.

His Character.

* *At* South-ampton.

His Issue. He left behind him three Sons, all of a fit Age to govern, to whom he bequeath'd his three Kingdoms by *Will. Sweyn* the eldest, and a Bastard, had *Norway* for his Share: Some affirm he was not his Son, but impos'd upon him for such by the Mother *. To *Harold* his second Son by the same Woman, he gave *England*; and to *Canute* or *Hardicanute*, whom he had by *Emma* of *Normandy*, the Kingdom of *Denmark*. *Gunilda*, his Daughter by the same Princess, was Wife to the Emperor *Henry* IV.

As I shall soon have occasion to mix the Affairs of *Normandy* with those of *England*, it will not be improper to give some Account beforehand of what pass'd among the *Normans*.

Affairs of Normandy. *Richard* II. Duke of *Normandy* dying in 1026, *Richard* III, his Son succeeding him, reign'd but one Year, and by his Death left the Dukedom to *Robert* his Brother; who was no sooner in Possession, but he show'd an Inclination to espouse the Interests of *Alfred* and *Edward* his Cousins, the Sons of his Aunt *Emma* and *Ethelred* II. As they were both at his Court, and as he could not forbear pitying their Case, he believ'd his Recommendation might procure them some Favour from *England*. Persuaded of this, as soon as he heard of the Death of *Edmund*'s Son, he sent Ambassadors to *Canute*, to entreat him to deliver up to the two Princes some Part of the Kingdom of their Ancestors. This Ambassy arriv'd in *England*, at the time *Canute* found himself so firmly seated on his Throne, that he thought he need not trouble himself about the Sollicitations of the Duke of *Normandy*. *Robert* was so incens'd at his Refusal, that he resolv'd to compel him to do Justice to the *English* Princes. To this Purpose, he fitted out a powerful Fleet, on Board of which he embark'd with a numerous Army, fully bent to make a Descent on *England*, where he did not question but

Robert *Duke of* Normandy *protects the two Brothers of* Edmund.

* *Florence* of *Worcester* and *Diceto* say, that *Edgiva*, being barren, feign'd a Lying-in, and got a Shoemaker's Son newly born to be put upon her credulous Husband. She is said to do the same by a Priest's Son also, which was *Harold*.

but the *Engliſh* would readily join him. But meeting with a violent Storm, he had the Mortification to behold the greateſt Part of his Fleet periſh; a Loſs, he could not eaſily repair. In the mean Time, theſe Preparations having convinc'd *Canute*, that the Duke of *Normandy* intended to eſpouſe the Cauſe of his Couſins in good Earneſt, he endeavoured to amuſe him with offering them Part of the Kingdom of *Weſſex*. But *Robert* would not have been put off with this Offer, had not his Misfortune at Sea conſtrain'd him to ſuſpend the Execution of his Deſign, as it induc'd *Canute* alſo to go back from his Word. Some time after, *Robert* took a Reſolution to go a Pilgrimage to *Jeruſalem*, deferring till his Return his intended Invaſion of *England*. But he died in his way Home. He left behind him only a natural Son, call'd *William*, on whom, before he went his Voyage, he ſettled the Succeſſion. This is the ſame *William the Baſtard*, whom we ſhall ſee hereafter aſcend the Throne of *England*.

His Fleet is deſtroy'd by a Storm.

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18. *HAROLD* I. Sirnam'd *Harefoot*.

WHEN *Canute* eſpous'd the Princeſs of *Normandy*, it was agreed upon, that the Children by this Marriage ſhould ſucceed to the Crown of *England*. Notwithſtanding this Prince, contrary to this Agreement, had left *England* to his Son *Harold* born in *Denmark*, and given *Denmark* to *Hardicanute*, his Son by *Emma of Normandy* *. In all Appearance he was of Opinion that the *Engliſh* had not been long enough accuſtom'd to the *Daniſh* Yoke, for him to venture to place on their Throne his youngeſt Son, who was not above 15 or 16 Years of Age, and a Prince of no great *Genius*. However this be, that Article in his *Will* met with great Oppoſition from the *Engliſh*. They look'd upon *Hardicanute*, born in *England*, and of a lawful Wife, the Widow of one of their Kings, as the only Perſon capable

HAROLD I. 1039.

* She is call'd *Elgiva* by the *Saxon Annals* and others.

pable of succeeding, whereas *Harold* was consider'd but as a *Foreigner* and a *Bastard*. The *Danes* on the contrary, were firmly bent to stand by *Canute's Last Will* and *Testament*. This Dissention might have been of ill Consequence, if *Harold* had not us'd the utmost Expedition in seizing upon the Treasure the King his Father had laid up at *Winchester*. By the help of this, he was enabled to make himself fear'd, and to gain over several of his Opposers. By which means, in a General Assembly held in *Mercia* *, he secur'd a Majority of *Voices*, and got himself proclaim'd King of *England*. The *Danes* were all for him to a Man, and consequently the *English Mercians*, that is, They who dwelt on the North-side of the *Thames*, who, looking upon the *Danes* as their Masters, durst not directly oppose their Will and Pleasure.

Harold *proclaim'd in* Mercia,

In the mean Time the *West-Saxons*, who were not in such a State of dependance, upon their return Home, conven'd an Assembly of the States of *Wessex*, and by the Management of Earl *Goodwin*, *Hardicanute* was elected and proclaim'd King of *Wessex*, the *West-Saxons* leaving the *Mercians* free to acknowledge *Harold* for their King. For the better understanding this Matter, it must be remembred, that there were *Danes* or People of *Danish* Extraction dispers'd all over *England*, but that their chief Settlements were in *Mercia*, *East-Anglia*, and *Northumberland*. And therefore, in all the Country lying North of the *Thames*, call'd then by the general Name of *Mercia*, there were more *Danes* than *English*. On the contrary, in *Wessex*, that is, South of the *Thames*, the *English* were the most numerous, having admitted among them such of their Countrymen, who, to avoid living under the Dominion of the *Danes*, had quitted the *Northern* Parts. By this means *Wessex* was exceeding populous, and become more powerful

and Hardicanute *in* Wessex.

* At *Oxford*, *An. Sax.* MXXXVI. This Contest about the Election of a King, very much weakens the Authority of *Simeon of Durham* and others, in relation to *Canute's* Will, especially considering the Marriage Articles with *Emma*, and the Silence of the *Saxon Annals*. Besides, the States of the Kingdom very seldom or never fail'd to elect whom the last King appointed in his *Will*.

powerful than ever, being capable of bringing into the Field as great an Army as the reſt of all *England*. 'Twas in this Manner that the Kingdom of *Judah* in old Time grew ſtrong at the Expence of that of *Iſrael*. The Forces then of the *Weſt-Saxons* and of the *Mercians* being pretty near upon an Equality, it is no wonder they were jealous of one another, and that each ſtrove to have for King, him of the two Princes whom they thought wou'd be moſt favourable to them. It was very probable this Diviſion would cauſe a War between the two Nations. But *Harold*, who was not poſſeſs'd of his Father's Qualities, imagined he was not ſtrong enough to undertake the Conqueſt of *Weſſex*. It was owing therefore to their being upon a Level, that the two Kingdoms remain'd in Peace.

Earl Goodwin Regent of Weſſex.

Hardicanute, who was in *Denmark*, made no great Haſte to come and take Poſſeſſion of the Crown of *Weſſex*; whether he was detain'd by other Affairs, or whether on this, as well as on all other Occaſions, he gave way to his natural Sluggiſhneſs. During his Abſence, Earl *Goodwin* held the Reins of the Government in an abſolute manner, independent of *Emma* the Queen-Mother, who was not belov'd by the *Weſt-Saxons*. In the mean while *Harold* was contriving how to gain by underhand means, a Kingdom he ſaw he could not ſubdue by Force of Arms. As he had been depriv'd of it purely by the Intereſt of Earl *Goodwin*, he believed he could take no readier way to compaſs his Ends, than by bringing over the Earl to his Side. He laid hold therefore of the Opportunity of his Brother's Abſence, to make *Goodwin* his Friend by ſuch ways and means as Hiſtory has not plainly told us; but may eaſily be gueſs'd at *. Be that as it will, he ſucceeded to his Wiſh. *Goodwin*, whoſe Conſcience was not over-nice, finding what *Harold* had propos'd would make for his Advantage, promis'd to place him on the Throne of *Weſſex*. This Affair was ſo dexterouſly manag'd, that all on a ſudden, under Pretence that *Hardicanute*

Delivers up the Kingdom to Harold.

* He is ſaid to have promis'd the Earl to marry his Daughter.

nute neglected to come into *England*, *Goodwin* procur'd *Harold* to be acknowledg'd King of *Wessex*. This Change however was not made with the unanimous Consent of the *West-Saxons*, but was brought about by the sole Contrivance of *Goodwin* and some other Lords, who engag'd so heartily in the Matter, that it was done and over before it was in the Power of any one to hinder it. Thus the *West-Saxons* saw a new King on the Throne, without having the Liberty to deliberate whether they should give their Consent or not. This is not the only Instance of the like Intrigues producing the like Events.

Emma *forms a Design to place on the Throne one of her Sons by her first Husband.*

Emma the Mother of *Hardicanute*, was extremely surpris'd at this Revolution, which not only depriv'd her Son of the Crown of *Wessex*, but herself also of the hopes of ever having any share in the Government She perceiv'd, as Matters stood, there was no possibility of recovering the Crown for her Son *Hardicanute*; and therefore turning her Thoughts another Way, she form'd a Project, the Execution whereof seem'd to her not impossible, which was, to get one of her Sons by *Ethelred*, to mount the Throne. She was in hopes the *English* would gladly assist her to their utmost, in placing the Crown on the Head of a Prince of the Race of their antient Kings, Perhaps the desire of pulling down *Goodwin* from the high Station he was rais'd too, spurr'd her on as much as the prospect of her Son's Advancement. To bring about her Ends, there was need of a great deal of Cunning aud Dissimulation. Above all it was necessary to find some Pretence, without raising the King's Jealousy, to send for the two Princes her Sons, who were in *Normandy*, that they might form a Party for themselves, and make what Friends they cou'd. With this view, she pretended not to be at all concern'd at the deposing of *Hardicanute*, confining herself to *Winchester*, where she daily frequented the Churches, and seem'd to be wholly taken up with the Care of her Salvation. When she imagined the King was fully satisfied she had laid aside all Thoughts of State-Affairs, she begg'd leave to send for the two Princes her Sons at *Winchester*, whom she had not seen since her se-

cond Marriage. Her Requeſt being granted, *Alfred* and *Edward* arriv'd ſoon after in *England*, without ſeeming to have any other Deſign but to pay a Viſit to their Mother. They were careſs'd by great Numbers of People, who, having *Engliſh* Hearts, always firmly adher'd to the antient Royal Family.

Alfred *and* Edward *come into* England.

Goodwin, who was a Perſon of great Sagacity, quickly ſmelt out the Queen's Deſign. It was a difficult Matter to impoſe upon ſo refin'd a Politician. As ſoon as he had begun to ſuſpect her, he ſet ſo many Spies at work, that he found at length his Suſpicions were not ill grounded. He acquainted *Harold* with the Matter, who ſeem'd ſtartled at it. But the Earl, who was not ſo eaſily alarm'd, gave him to underſtand, that this Conſpiracy as yet was but in Embrio, the Execution whereof might with eaſe be prevented; that the Difficulty did not lie ſo much in avoiding the preſent Danger, as in guarding againſt future ones; that to ſcreen himſelf once for all from the like Practices, he ſaw no better way than by diſpatching the two *Saxon* Princes, ſince he had ſo favourable an Opportunity put into his Hands. *Harold* approving of this Project, *Goodwin* adviſ'd him to put on a ſeeming Security, that he might with the leſs Difficulty draw them into the Snare. This being reſolv'd upon, *Harold* made as if he were ignorant of the Queen's Deſigns, and the two Princes continu'd ſome Time at *Wincheſter*, without his ſhowing the leaſt Uneaſineſs upon their Account. In fine, laying hold of an Opportunity, which naturally offered it ſelf, he invited them to come and paſs a few Days at Court, before they return'd into *Normandy*, where he feign'd to believe, they deſign'd to go in a ſhort Time. *Emma* was in great Suſpence what to do. She was very ſenſible it would be a hard Matter for her Sons to gain a powerful Party among the Nobility, without appearing at Court, where the Lords of the greateſt Intereſt were uſually preſent. But on the other Hand, ſhe could not bring herſelf to reſolve upon delivering them into the Hands of a Prince whoſe Intereſt it was to deſtroy them. In this Perplexity, ſhe took a middle Courſe, which ſhe judg'd proper to prevent the Dan-

Goodwin *acquaints the King with the Queen's Deſigns.*

He adviſes the diſpatching of the two Princes

ger she dreaded. This was, to send *Alfred* her eldest Son to the King, and to detain *Edward* under some Pretence: She was persuaded that in case *Harold* had any ill Designs, he would defer them till such Time as he had both the Brothers in his Power, seeing it would be to no Purpose to dispatch One, whilst the other was alive. *Goodwin*, content that his Advice had thus far succeeded, order'd the Matter so, that he was sent to meet *Alfred*, as if to do him Honour, but in reality, because he was unwilling to trust another with the Execution of his Designs. *Alfred*'s little Train compos'd of *Normans*, were charm'd with the Respect *Goodwin* paid, and caus'd to be paid to the Prince. But their Satisfaction was quickly turn'd into great Consternation, when the Prince and all that were with him were stopp'd at *Guilford* Castle, where they were made to enter, under Pretence of refreshing themselves. *Alfred* was immediately conducted to *Ely*, where after they had put out his Eyes, he was shut up in the Monastery. The unhappy Prince had scarce Time to be sensible of his Misfortunes, since he died a few Days after, either out of Grief, or by some more violent means. At least *Geodwin* was afterwards charg'd with his Murder. As soon as *Edward* was inform'd of the said *Catastrophe* of his Brother, he forthwith departed for *Normandy*, for fear of the like Treatment. Shortly after *Emma*, having receiv'd orders to depart the Kingdom, retir'd to *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, who assign'd her the City of *Bruges* to reside in. It seems somewhat strange, she should not go to *Normandy* to Duke *William* her Nephew; but in all probability, they who had the Administration of Affairs during the Duke's Minority, did not think proper to receive her. And indeed, it was to be fear'd this intriguing Princess would increase the Disturbances of the Dukedom, where *William* was not as yet firmly establish'd *.

Edward *returns to* Normandy.

Whilst

* This Account of *Alfred*'s Death, *Malmsbury* says, was built on common Report, and not being recorded, refuses to vouch the Fact But *M. Westminster* and others, relate it without Diffidence. Most of the antient *Manuscript Annals* in the *Cottonian* Library, as also

Whilſt theſe Things were tranſacting, *Hardicanute* rouzing at length from his Lethargy, form'd a Deſign of recovering by Arms the Kingdom of *Weſſex*, uſurp'd by his Brother. With this view he went to *Bruges*, to conſult with the Queen his Mother. In all Appearance, he would have had a hard Task to bring Matters about, had not the Death of *Harold*, which happen'd at that very Time, ſmooth'd all Difficulties. This Prince died * in 1039 without Iſſue, and without having done any thing memorable *1. He was Sirnam'd *Harefoot*, becauſe his Foot 1039. Harold *dies.* Knighton.

alſo a Treatiſe call'd *Encomium Emmæ*, (which, 'tis plain, *Malmsbury* never ſaw) being a *Panegyrick* wrote on that Queen, by a Monk of her own Time, relate the Matter thus.

Harold ſeeking by Treachery to get theſe two young Princes into his Power, forg'd a Letter in the Name of *Emma* their Mother, earneſtly inviting them into *England*; wherein, (perſonating her) "She gently chides them for their Delay, in not coming over to "inſpect their own Affairs, ſince they could not but know that it "daily confirm'd the Uſurper in his Power, who omitted no Ar"tifices to gain the chief Nobility over to his Party: Yet aſſur'd "them the *Engliſh* had much rather have one of them to reign o"ver them; and therefore urg'd them to come as ſpeedily and as "privately as they could, to conſult what Meaſures were moſt proper to be taken." This Letter was ſent to *Normandy*, by an expreſs Meſſenger, and receiv'd by the Princes with Joy; who ſent word by the ſame Hand, That one of them would be with her ſhortly, naming both the Time and Place. Accordingly *Alfred* the youngeſt, (by others ſaid to be the eldeſt) at the appointed Time, with a few Ships, and a ſmall number of *Normans* ſail'd for *England*; where they were no ſooner landed, but they fell into the Hands of *Goodwin*, who ſerv'd them as *Rapin* has above related. What makes this Account the more probable, is, that had both the Princes come over in the manner above-mention'd, *Harold* would certainly have put them both to Death, ſince it would have been in his Power. The *Saxon Annals* ſay nothing of *Alfred*'s Death, and ſome place it after *Harold*'s Deceaſe. Such is the Uncertainty of this Matter; which makes it appear, how little Traditional Accounts are to be depended upon, tho' of no long ſtanding, ſince this Story, tranſacted but a few Years before *the Conqueſt*, is told ſo many ways.

* He died at *Oxford*, in the fourth Year of his Reign, and was buried at *Wincheſter*; or according to *Brompton*, at *Weſtminſter*.

*1 He laid a Tax of 8 Marks on every Port, towards fitting out ſixteen Ships. He made but one Law, mention'd by *Selden*, which was, that if any *Welſh* Man coming into *England* without leave,

was

Foot was all overy hairy, or, as others affirm, becauſe he was light and ſwift of Foot *. His Death happen'd in one of the hardeſt Winters that had ever been known in *England* *.

19. *CANUTE* II. or *HARDICANUTE.*

1039. Hardicanute *is acknowledg'd King of all* England.

AFTER the Death of *Harold*, the *Great Men* of both Nations, unanimouſly made an Offer of the Crown to *Canute*, Sirnam'd the *Hardy*, not to denote his Courage, but his ſtrong Conſtitution (*a*). He was then at *Bruges*, concerting Meaſures with the Queen his Mother, for the recovery of the Kingdom of *Weſſex*, by the means of a powerful Aid the Earl of *Flanders* had put him in hopes of. The News of *Harold*'s Death having put an End to their Conſultations, he came to *England* with 40 Ships he had brought with him from *Denmark*. He was receiv'd with great Demonſtrations of Joy, both by the *Engliſh* and *Danes*. Earl *Goodwin* himſelf, tho' he had no reaſon to rejoice at his Arrival, after what he acted againſt him, was the foremoſt to do him Homage.

He digs up his Brother's Corps. Malm. *l.* 2. *c.* 12.

The new King began his Reign with an Act of Cruelty ſomewhat uncommon. The Ceremony of his Coronation was hardly over, but out of his Impatience to be reveng'd on his Brother, dead as he was, he commanded his Body to be dug up and thrown into the *Thames*. But all his Care to prevent the Body from being buried again, prov'd ineffectual. Some Fiſhermen finding the Corps floating on the Water,

was taken on this Side *Offa*'s *Ditch*, he ſhould have his Right-hand cut off by the King's Officer.

* *Brompton* ſays, he had his Sirname from refuſing to ride on Horſe-back, and chuſing always to walk on Foot, which, ſays he, was very unbecoming his Royal State.

** The *Saxon Annals* MXXXIX, ſay, that this Year a *Seſter*, or Horſe-load of Wheat, was ſold for 55 Pence, and more.

(*a*) The Word *Hardy*, is rendred by thoſe that wrote in *Latin*, by *Durus*, and not by *Audax*. See *Pontanus*. Hiſt. Dan.

Water, deliver'd it to the *Danes*, who interr'd it in a Burying-Place their Nation had then in *London* *. It is further added, that the King being inform'd of this, order'd the Body to be thrown once more into the River; but being found again, it was privately buried at *Weſtminſter*.

Shortly after, *Hardicanute* impos'd an exorbitant Tax on the Kingdom, for the Payment of the Fleet he ſent back to *Denmark*. Though the *Engliſh* had often paid the like Tax, term'd *Danegeld*, they were diſſatisfied at its being renew'd at a Time when there appear'd no Neceſſity for it. The Inhabitants of *Worceſter* oppos'd the levying this Tax with the greateſt Heat. They even proceeded ſo far as to kill two of the Collectors. News of this being brought the King, he order'd immediately *Goodwin* Duke of *Weſſex*, *Leofric* Duke of *Mercia*, and *Siward* Earl of *Northumberland*, to draw their Forces together, march to *Worceſter*, and deſtroy the City with Fire and Sword. Theſe Lords executed in Part the King's Orders, though with a great deal of Reluctance. The City was burnt, after it had been plunder'd for four Days together. But the Inhabitants had leave to retire into a ſmall Iſland in the *Severn*, nam'd *Bevercy*, till the King was appeas'd *1.

He impoſes a heavy Tax.

Sedition at Worceſter *on that Account.* Camden *in* Worceſt

The City burnt.

Not long after Prince *Edward*, the Son of *Ethelred* II. and Brother to the King by the ſame Mother, appear'd at Court. He met with a very civil Reception, and upon his firſt coming demanded Juſtice againſt *Goodwin*, charging

Prince Edward *comes to Court.* Dunelm.

* Which conſtant Tradition affirms to be the Church and Churchyard of St. *Clement Danes*.

*1 This City, the *Branonium* of *Antoninus*, and *Branogenium* of *Ptolemy*, whence call'd by the *Welſh* at this Day, *Cair Vrangon*, was nam'd by the *Saxons*, *Wogar-Ceſter*, *Wegorna-Ceſter*, and *Wire-Ceſter*, perhaps from the Foreſt *Wire* hard by. It was built by the *Romans*, as a Frontier Town againſt the *Britons* or *Welſh*. It was fenc'd formerly with high *Roman* Walls, and has now a ſtrong Wall. It was made an *Epiſcopal See* by *Sexwulfus* Biſhop of the *Mercians*, in 680. It was ſoon rebuilt after being burnt here by the *Danes*. *Camden*.

Demands Justice against Goodwin.

ing him with the Murder of his Brother *Alfred* *. The King was well enough pleas'd with having an Opportunity of punishing the Earl, not so much perhaps for the Death of Prince *Alfred*, as for what he had done in Favour of the late King. He was cited therefore to appear and answer to what was alledg'd against him. But *Goodwin*, who knew the covetous Temper of the King, found the Means to extricate himself out of this Affair, by a magnificent Present before his Tryal. This Present was a Galley, having a gilt Stern, and mann'd with fourscore choice Soldiers, every one of whom had upon his Arm a golden Bracelet weighing sixteen Ounces, with Helmets and Swords all gilded, and a *Danish* Battle-Ax adorn'd with Gold and Silver, hanging on his Left-Shoulder, and a Lance of the same in his Right-Hand. Every Thing in the Galley was answerable to this Magnificence. By Virtue of this noble Present, the Earl was acquitted, upon taking his Oath that he had no Hand in the Death of Prince *Alfred* *1.

Whogets off by a noble Present to the King.

1041. *Death of* Hardicanute.

Hardicanute did not long enjoy a Crown he was not worthy to wear. He died suddenly in the third Year of his Reign, at the Nuptial Feast of a *Danish* Lord at *Lambeth*.

* *Simeon of Durham* says, that it was *Alfric* Archbishop of *York* that accus'd *Goodwin* and *Livingus* Bishop of *Worcester* of this Murder. *Sim Dunelm.* p. 180.

*1 This Year also, as *Brompton* tells us, *Hardicanute* sent over his Sister *Gunilda* to the Emperor *Henry*, to whom she had been betroth'd in her Father's Time; but before she went, the King kept her Nuptial Feast with that Magnificence, in Cloaths, Equipage, and Feasting, that *Matthew Westminster* says, it was remembred in his Days, and sung by Musicians at all great Entertainments. After the Princess had been some time in *Germany*, she was accus'd of Adultery, and could find, it seems, no better Champion than *Municon*, a little Page she had brought with her from *England*, to vindicate her Honour. The Page undertaking her Defence, fought a Duel with one *Rodingar*, a Man of gigantick Stature, and by cutting his Ham-strings overcame him, and so clear'd his Lady's Honour; who took it so heinously to be accus'd that she forsook her Husband, and retir'd to a Monastery, where she ended her Days. *Mat. West.* and *Brompten Chron.*

beth *. Perhaps his Death was haſten'd on by Poiſon: but his Cruelty and Gluttony, which were carried to a monſtrous Height, made him ſo odious, that he died regretted by none, neither was any Inquiry made into the Manner of his Death. All Hiſtorians unanimouſly agree, that he ſpent whole Days and Nights in Feaſting and Carouſing *1. There is one however that praiſes him mightily for keeping open Table four times a Day, and exclaims againſt the Niggardneſs of the Kings his Succeſſors, who aboliſh'd ſo laudable a Cuſtom. Hunting.

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20. *EDWARD* III. the Confeſſor.

EDWARD III.

Difficulties concerning the Succeſſion.

HARDICANUTE having left no Iſſue, *Edward* the Son of *Ethelred* II. and *Emma* of *Normandy*, was then the only Prince in *England* that had any Pretenſions to the Crown. It was but reaſonable the Race of the *Saxons* Kings ſhould be reſtor'd to the Throne they had been unjuſtly depriv'd of. But then it was no leſs right and juſt to recall out of *Hungary* Prince *Edward*, the Son of *Edmund Ironſide*, and place him on the Throne before his Uncle, who was one Degree farther remov'd. On the other Hand, the uninterrupted Succeſſion of four *Daniſh* Kings, who ſat on the Throne during the Space of 42 Years *2, with the Conſent of the *Engliſh*, ſtarted another Difficulty, ſeeing *Sweyn* the Son of *Canute the Great* was ſtill alive. 'Tis true, he was reckon'd by ſome as

(*i.e.*) *A dirty Station.* *Baldwin* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, exchanging a *Manor* with the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, begun here a Palace in 1183

*1 *John Rouſe* of *Warwick*, in his Treatiſe *de regibus Angliæ*, relates, that the Day of King *Hardicanute*'s Death was kept by the *Engliſh* as a *Holy-Day* in his Time, 400 Years afterwards, and was call'd *Hog's-Tide*, or *Hock-Wedneſday*.

*2 *Rapin* ſeems to be miſtaken here, ſince from *Sweyn*'s being proclaim'd in 1014, to *Hardicanute*'s Death in 1041, was but 27 or 28 Years at moſt.

as a Baſtard. But beſides that, the King his Father had not treated him as ſuch in the Partition of his Dominions, it may be ſaid in his Favour, that he ought to have the ſame Privilege with his Brother *Harold*, to whom his being born of the ſame Mother was no Bar to his mounting the Throne. It was therefore no eaſy Matter to ſettle the Succeſſion to the Satisfaction of all Parties. On the contrary, 'twas to be fear'd that upon this Occaſion the old Animoſities between the two Nations would break out afreſh, and the Kingdom be again plung'd into its former Calamities. *Edward* the Son of *Ethelred* II. having ſpent moſt Part of his Days in *Normandy*, was little known in *England*. Beſides his Merit, which was not very conſpicuous, he was incapable of ſetting off his Right. However, a lucky Thought, which Neceſſity conſtrain'd him to cloſe with, procur'd him a Support, by which alone he was enabled to maintain his Pretenſions, I mean, Earl *Goodwin*. Though 'twas but a few Months ſince that *Edward* had proſecuted this Lord as the Murderer of his Brother, he was adviſ'd to court his Protection, which he obtain'd with greater Eaſe than he durſt have expected. *Goodwin* was ſo powerful, and of ſo ſuperior a Genius to the reſt of the Nobility, that it would have been next to impoſſible for *Edward* to have ſucceeded, if he had not gain'd him to his Side. He was already diſtinguiſh'd by his Merit, as well as by his Birth, when *Canute the Great* entruſted him with the Command of the *Engliſh* Troops, in the War againſt the *Vandals*. After that Expedition, wherein he ſignalized himſelf, *Canute* made him Earl of *Kent*, *Suſſex*, and *Surrey*, and gave him in Marriage *Thyra*, Siſter to Earl *Ulphon*, to whom *Canute* had given his own Siſter *Eſtrith*, Widow of the Duke of *Normandy* (*a*). *Goodwin* had by this Wife a Son, who was drown'd in the *Thames*, by the

Edward *cloſes with* Goodwin.

Good-win's *Riſe*

(*a*) Mr. *Tyrrel*, and others ſay, that *Goodwin*'s firſt Wife was *Canute*'s Siſter; but according to *Pontanus*, ſhe was only Siſter to *Ulphon* Brother-in-law to *Canute*, which is moſt probable.

the Means of an unruly Horſe. His ſecond Wife was *Gith*, Siſter to *Sweyn*, who was King of *Denmark* after the Death of *Hardicanute*. By this Wife he had ſeven Sons, *Harold*, *Toſton*, *Swane*, *Ulnoth*, *Gurth*, *Elfgar*, *Lewin*, and a Daughter nam'd *Editha*. His great Credit with *Canute the Great*, the Superiority of his *Genius*, his noble Alliances, his Titles of *Earl of Kent*, *Duke of Weſſex*, and his Poſt of High-Treaſurer, conferr'd on him by King *Harold*; and laſtly, the Government of the *Counties* of *Oxford* and *Hereford*, in the Hands of his eldeſt Son, had rais'd him to that Height, that it was difficult to advance him any higher. His Intereſt was ſomewhat eclips'd in the Reign of *Hardicanute*; but he had the Addreſs to work himſelf out of the Danger he was threatned with. How great a Grudge ſoever the late King bore *Goodwin*, he was ſuch an Enemy to Buſineſs, that not being able to bring himſelf to undergo the Fatigue the Adminiſtration of Affairs requir'd, he left all to his Management, as to one he judg'd the moſt able in the Kingdom. *Goodwin* knew ſo well how to improve theſe favourable Junctures to ingratiate himſelf more and more with the *Nobles* and *People*, that his Power far exceeded that of all the other *Engliſh* Lords. From what has been ſaid, it plainly appears how neceſſary *Goodwin*'s Aſſiſtance was, in order to *Edward*'s mounting the Throne, though his Right and Title had been ſtronger than they were. However, *Goodwin* was not one that neglected his own in promoting the Intereſt of others. Before he engag'd in his Cauſe, he brought *Edward* to Articles, and made him promiſe with an Oath to marry his Daughter *Editha*. The Prince complied with theſe Terms, notwithſtanding his inward Reluctance to eſpouſe the Daughter of a Man, whom he look'd upon as the Murderer of his Brother *Alfred*.

Edward promiſes to marry Goodwin's Daughter.

As ſoon as *Goodwin* had bound up *Edward* to the Conditions requir'd, he conven'd a *Geneneral Aſſembly*, where, by his Management, the Prince was acknowledg'd and proclaim'd

He is proclaim'd King.

claim'd King with unanimous Conſent *. It was happy for the *Engliſh* there was then in the Kingdom never a Prince of the Family of *Canute the Great*, whom the *Danes* might have ſet up in Oppoſition to *Edward*. If *Sweyn* King of *Norway* had been on the Spot to head the *Danes*, it may reaſonably be preſum'd, either that his Pretenſions would have caus'd a Civil War, or that *England* would have been once more divided into two Kingdoms. Without doubt the *Danes* would never have ſuffer'd the Rights of the Royal Family of *Denmark*, four Princes whereof had ſucceſſively ſat on the Throne, to have thus fallen to the Ground. On the other Hand, the *Engliſh* were ſo averſe to a *Daniſh* Government, that in all Appearance they would have run all Hazards to be delivered from it. But the preſent Juncture proving favourable to the *Engliſh*, they made the beſt of it, not only by placing on the Throne a Prince

* *Brompton* and ſome others relate this Matter otherwiſe: Upon *Hardicanute*'s Death, *Alfred*, (whom ſome affirm to be ſlain in *Harold*'s, ſome in *Hardicanute*'s Reign) being invited over into *England*, *Goodwin* repreſented to the Lords that he was coming with great Numbers of *Normans*, to whom he had promis'd to give Eſtates. Upon which *Goodwin* was ſent to meet him at *Southampton*, where, in order to make Way to the Crown for his own Son by *Canute*'s Daughter, he ſerv'd him in the barbarous Manner before related in the Reign of *Harold*. The *Engliſh* Nobles, who had not approved of this Treachery of *Goodwin*'s, vow'd Revenge, which *Goodwin* being inform'd of, fled into *Denmark*, and his Eſtate in *England* was confiſcated. After this, the *Engliſh* ſent over to *Edward*, to deſire him to come and take Poſſeſſion of the Crown. Shortly after his Coronation, *Goodwin* hearing of King *Edward*'s gracious Temper, return'd into *England*, to petition for his Pardon and Eſtate again, and was accus'd by the King before an Aſſembly held at *London*, of his Brother *Alfred*'s Murder. But with much ado, by the Interceſſion of *Leofrick* and other Peers, the Matter was made up, and he was reſtor'd to all his Lands. *Brompton Chron.* p. 934, *&c.* *Huntingdon* agrees in the main with this Relation, but ſays, that *Goodwin* murder'd *Alfred*, becauſe he thought him of too high a Spirit to marry his Daughter, whom he aim'd to make Queen of *England*, by marrying her to *Edward*, an eaſy and ſimple Prince. But this, *Milton* obſerves, is contrary to all Records.

Prince of their own Nation, but alſo by ridding themſelves of the Fear of falling again under a foreign Yoke.

In the *General Aſſembly* above-mention'd, to which, in all likelihood, the *Danes* being then without a Leader, were not call'd, *Goodwin* ſtrenuouſly harangu'd, to let the *Engliſh* ſee, "that a favourable Opportunity offer'd itſelf to "free themſelves from the Oppreſſion under which they "had groan'd for ſo many Years. He painted out in an "eloquent Manner, which was natural to him, the Cala"mities their Country labour'd under, whilſt in Subjec"tion to Foreigners. He diſplay'd the extreme Pride of "the *Danes*, who, not content with ſharing the Kingdom "with the *Engliſh*, treated them as ſo many Slaves. He "call'd to their Remembrance the ſad Times, when an "*Engliſhman* and a *Dane* meeting on a Bridge, the for"mer durſt not ſtir a Step till the latter was paſs'd over. "That if an *Engliſhman* did not make a low Reverence to "a *Dane*, he was ſure to be ſoundly cudgell'd. To all "theſe Miſeries he added, that of the exceſſive Taxes they "had been oblig'd to pay, particularly *Dane-Gelt* *, which "was impos'd for no other End but to ſatisfy the Avarice "of their greedy Maſters". In fine, he omitted nothing that might inflame the Rage of the *Engliſh*. This Harangue wrought ſo upon the Hearers, that it was reſolv'd no *Dane* for the future ſhould ever ſit on the Throne of *England*. Some add, that the Enumeration of the Calamities they had ſo long groan'd under, made ſuch an Impreſſion on their Minds, that, with one Conſent, they took up their Reſolution of driving all the *Danes* out of

Good-win's *Speech againſt the* Danes.

Bromp-ton. *They reſolve to expel the* Danes, *and do ſo.*

* This Tax amounted to 40,000 *l.* a Year. King *Edward* releas'd the Nation of this heavy Burden in the Year 1051. The occaſion of his ſo doing, though related by *Ingulphus*, will ſcarce be credited. As the King was one Day brought to ſee the huge heap of Money collected by this Tax, he ſtarted back as in a great Fright, and being ask'd the Reaſon, proteſted he ſaw the *Devil* capering and dancing over the Money. Upon which he order'd it to be all paid back to the People, and *Dane-gelt* to be aboliſhed for ever, after it had been paid 38 Years. *Ingulph. p.* 65. *Edit. Gale.*

the Kingdom, and accordingly put it in Execution forthwith.

The Difficulties in this Passage of the English History.

This is one of the most difficult Passages in the whole *English History*, Turn it which way you will, there is no accounting for it. In the first Place it is hard to conceive, how in a *General Assembly* of the Kingdom, it was possible they could come to a Resolution of getting rid of the *Danes*, and much more, how it came to be in the Power of the *English* to put it in Practice. The *Danes* alone in a manner were in Possession of all the *Eastern* and *Northern* Counties, and in *Mercia*, that is, in the Heart of the Kingdom, they were as numerous as the *English*. Four Kings of their Nation had reign'd successively, who far from humbling them, had no doubt shown them great Favour, and given them the Preference. And yet, without any thing extraordinary happening, except the Death of *Hardicanute*, a Prince of little Merit and Reputation, they will have it that the *English* were suddenly become Superior. But this is not all; 'tis affirm'd, that this Superiority was so great as to enable them to expel the *Danes* out of the Kingdom. How is it possible to believe, that the *Danes* should suffer themselves to be thus treated, without making the least Resistance? For it does not appear that there was any War or Commotion in the Kingdom upon this Occasion. The *Danish* Historians make the Matter still worse. They tell us, that all the *Danes* in *England* were massacred in one Night, by the Treachery of *Harold* the Son of *Goodwin*, who order'd all the *Danish* Soldiers to march out of their Garrisons, under pretence of solemnizing the Funeral of the late King (*a*). But this Account is altogether improbable; for in the first Place, *Harold*, who was then very young, had no Hand in the Government, and consequently could give no such Orders to the *Danish* Officers. In the next place, how

Pontanus. Meursius.

(*a*) Eâque nox, exiguo temporis Momento, vetustam Danorum dominationem, ac longo multoque Majorum sudore & sanguine partum imperium ita pessumdedit ut vix unquam postea Danos Fortuna respexerit. *Pont. in vit Mag. Boni.* l. v. An. 1045.

how came it to paſs, that all the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians, *Brompton* * only excepted, who ſays but very little of the Matter, ſhould agree to paſs over in Silence ſo remarkable an Event? How was it poſſible for them to write their Hiſtories without ever making the leaſt Alluſion to it. If 'tis objected, they did this, as aſham'd of their Nation for ſo barbarous an Action, what is the Reaſon they acted not in the ſame manner with regard to the Maſſacre in the Reign of *Ethelred*? Theſe are Difficulties that are not eaſily to be got over. It ſeems at firſt, as if there was a plauſible way of accounting for them, which is, to charge the Hiſtorians, as well *Engliſh* as *Daniſh*, of not having told the whole Truth, or of having aggravated what they relate. But by taking this Courſe we run into ſtill greater Difficulties. It is moſt certain, that ever ſince the beginning of the Reign of *Edward the Confeſſor*, the *Danes* have been ſo far from making any Figure in *England*, that they are not mention'd in Hiſtory any more than if they had never been known there, tho' juſt before they were Maſters of the whole Kingdom. But whence ſhould proceed ſo ſudden a Fall, or rather, how ſhould they all vaniſh in a Moment, if neither expell'd nor maſſacred? Hiſtorians acquaints us not that War was made againſt them, that their ſtrong Holds were taken from them, that they were brought under new Laws: But all on a ſudden, theſe powerful and formidable *Danes* are reduc'd to nothing, in the Reign of a Prince the moſt unwarlike that had ever ſat on the Throne. Theſe are *Hiſtorical* Difficulties, the Solution whereof I am forc'd to leave to others. But to return to *Edward*.

* *p.* 934.

King Edward's *Character.*

He was a Prince of a weak Conſtitution, and a narrow *Genius*, not at all qualified to rule a large Kingdom. His unſteadineſs and irreſolution on important Occaſions, his inability in publick Affairs, and his being wholly engroſs'd by Trifles, gave the *Nobles* an Opportunity of aſſuming a Power, very nearly approaching the Supreme Authority. As ſoon as they perceiv'd the Weakneſs of this Prince, they became ſo Arbitrary in their Governments, that they obey'd the King's Orders no farther than they

they were consistent with their Interest. Earl *Goodwin* especially usurp'd by degrees so great Power, that he had almost the same Deference paid him as the King himself. Perhaps that Easiness of Temper he observ'd in *Edward*, was the principal Motive of his procuring for him the Crown, to the end he might govern in his Name. But how fair soever the King carried it towards him in his Heart, he utterly hated him and his whole Family. This was the true reason that made him put off his Marriage with *Editha* as long as he could. But as he stood in Fear of this Lord, he durst not break his Word with him; and therefore after he had deferr'd it on several Pretences for two Years, he espous'd his Daughter, according to his Promise. However, he consummated not the Marriage, so great was his Aversion to all that belong'd to *Goodwin*. The Queen, who was a Person of strict Virtue, and endow'd with a Greatness of Soul, bore this Usage with a wonderful Patience. Instead of complaining of her hard Treatment, she never open'd her Mouth about it; but finding it was not in her Power to gain the Affection of the King her Husband, she diverted her Thoughts with doing Acts of Devotion *. The Author of the Life of *Edward* pretends, that this Prince had made a Vow of Chastity, long before his Marriage, and that he had perswaded the Queen to do the like. But *Malmsbury* does not know what to make of this Proceeding, and shows a strong Inclination to believe, that *Edward*'s Hatred to *Goodwin* was the real Cause of his abstaining from his Daughter. He durst not venture however to divorce her, for fear the Earl, by whose Interests he had mounted the Throne, might still have it in

Ailred.

* *Ingulphus* says, she was not only the most beautiful, chaste, humble and modest Lady of her Time, but also very learned, insomuch that he tells us, when he was but a Boy, and liv'd at Court with his Father, she was us'd to meet him coming from School, and took delight in posing him not only in *Grammar*, but in *Logick* also. And when she had done, would order her Servant to give him some Pieces of Money. He farther says, she had nothing of her Father in her. Whence it was become a Saying, *Sicut Spina Rosam, genuit* Goodwinus Editham. Ingul. *p.* 62. *Edit. Gale.*

in his Power to depoſe him, or at leaſt to create him a great deal of Trouble. For this Reaſon he continued to conceal in all other Reſpects his Averſion towards him, and even to heap Favours on him, till a fit Opportunity ſhou'd offer of ſhowing his Reſentment. He did not conſider that by his diſſembling the Matter, the Earl ingratiating himſelf more and more with the People, who imagining he was in great Credit with the King, the more firmly adher'd to him. *Goodwin* wiſely improv'd theſe Advantages, and became every Day more formidable to the King, by the great Number of Friends he acquir'd. In all probability, he would have become in Time, as powerful as the *Mayors of the Palace* were formerly in *France*, if he had not met with a Counter-balance, which prevented his riſing to that degree of Power, ſo fatal to the Royal Authority; I mean, *Siward* Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Leofric* Duke of *Mercia*. *Siward* had the Reputation of the braveſt and moſt worthy Peer in the Kingdom. His excellent Qualities gave him great Authority at Court and among the *Northumbrians*, who were under his Government. *Leofric* was univerſally eſteem'd and reſpected for his Merit. His Power was ſo great in *Mercia*, that he was more a King there than *Edward* himſelf. Theſe two Lords uniting together in order to prevent *Goodwin* from ſoaring too high, firmly adher'd to the Perſon of the King, and endeavour'd to the utmoſt of their Power, to ſupport his Authority. Without their Aſſiſtance, *Edward*, who was naturally a weak Man, would have found it a very hard Matter to guard himſelf againſt the Artifices of ſo able and powerful a Subject as *Goodwin*. Thus Matters ſtood at the Court of *England*, during the firſt Years of this Reign. It was neceſſary to premiſe this, for the better underſtanding of the Sequel.

The State of the Court.

Edward, to whom is given the glorious Titles of *Saint* and *Confeſſor*, mounted the Throne with a Diſpoſition of Mind ſomewhat repugnant to true Holineſs. Beſides his Hatred againſt *Goodwin* and his own Wife, he cheriſh'd in his Breaſt the deſire of being reveng'd on his Mother, which ill agreed with the Rules of the *Goſpel*. 'Tis true, his

Edward *takes from the Queen his Mother all her Eſtate;*

his Mother, who had never any great Affection for him, had done enough to sowr him in marrying *Canute the Great*, a mortal Foe of her first Husband. She had moreover given her Consent, that the Children by her second Marriage should succeed to the Crown of *England*, which show'd she had but little regard for those by the first. This thing made so deep an Impression on *Edward*'s Mind, that all her Endeavours afterwards to procure him the Throne, were not able to efface it. As soon as he found it in his Power to make her feel the Effects of his Resentment, he delay'd not to do it. All on a sudden, when she least expected it, he came to *Winchester*, where her Treasures lay, and without showing the least regard for her, stript her of All, leaving her only a moderate Pension for her Subsistence. Thus this Princess, Widow of two Kings, Mother of two more, and Daughter of a Duke of *Normandy*, little inferior to a King, saw herself in the latter End of her Days reduc'd to Poverty by the Rigour of her own Son.

Sax. Ann. 1042.

and makes her go thro' the Ordeal *Tryal.*

But *Edward* was not satisfied with having shown by this Act of Violence the little Regard and Affection he had for his Mother. Several Historians assure us, that he moreover had her accus'd of Incontinence with *Alwin* Bishop of *Winchester*. They tell us, that without regarding her Quality, he was so hard-hearted as to make her undergo the *Ordeal* Tryal. This Tryal consisted in obliging the Party accus'd to walk bare-foot and hood-wink'd over nine red-hot Plough-shares. They pretend *Emma* came off unhurt, and that she gave in Memory of this Deliverance nine *Manors* to the next Monastery *. But, as appears from what has been said before, she had none left to give. However this be, she liv'd ten Years in the Condition the King had reduc'd her to, confin'd to *Winchester*, as to a sort of Prison, from whence she was not deliver'd till Death set her free in 1052 *1.

Brompton Knighton.

* Winchester.

Whilst

*1 This Tryal of *Emma* is related by *Brompton* and *Knighton*, and embellished with some trivial Circumstances by *Harpesfield*. They tell us, *Robert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, a *Norman*, (whom *Edward*

Whilſt *Edward* was thus venting his Reſentment againſt his Mother, he receiv'd certain Advice, that a great Storm was gathering in the *North*. *Sweyn* King of *Norway*, the Son of *Canute the Great*, deſigning to lay claim to the Crown of *England*, was making Preparations for an Invaſion with all Expedition, which put the *Engliſh* in dread of the like Miſeries they had ſo long experienc'd, and from which for ſome time they had been happily freed. *Edward*, who was no leſs alarm'd than his Subjects at the News of this Invaſion, made ſome Preparations for his Defence. *Gunilda*, Niece to *Canute the Great*, fell a Sacrifice to his Fears. She was conſtrain'd to abandon the Kingdom and her Family, to prevent her contriving ſome Plot in Favour of the *Danes*. But by a lucky Turn, a War, which unexpectedly happen'd between the Kings of *Denmark* and *Norway*, broke the Meaſures of the latter, and brought Peace to the *Engliſh* contrary to their expectation. Some Time after, *Sweyn* was depos'd by *Magnus* the Son of *Olaüs the Martyr*, whom *Canute the Great* had diſpoſeſs'd of *Norway*. *Magnus* was no ſooner Maſter of that Kingdom, but he carried the War into *Denmark*; upon which the King, whoſe Name was alſo

Sweyn *King of* Norway *prepares to invade* England.

Gunilda *baniſh'd.* 1043.

Norway *and* Denmark *at War.*

Edward had brought over with him) accus'd the Queen of conſenting to the Death of her Son *Alfred*, of endeavouring to poiſon her Son *Edward*, and of maintaining an infamous Commerce with Biſhop *Alwin*. For which ſhe was condemned by a *Council* held on purpoſe to purge herſelf by the Tryal of *Fire Ordeal*, as ſhe had offer'd to do, and as it is related above. But this whole Matter admits of great Diſputes. for *Malmsbury*, *Florence of Worceſter*, *Huntingdon*, *Hoveden* and *Weſtminſter*, who liv'd neareſt the Time, ſay not a Word of this miraculous Purgation. Then again *Brompton* ſays, *Robert* immediately fled the Kingdom; whereas he went not off, as *Malmsbury* aſſure us, till ſeveral Years after upon another occaſion, as we ſhall ſee: Moreover he could not be Archbiſhop then, ſince *Edſius* liv'd till 1050, which was three Year after *Alwin*'s Death, (according to *Flor. Weſt. Hoved Chron. Mailr.*) whom *Brompton* ſuppoſes to be alive at the Tryal, for he ſays, he alſo gave nine *Manors* to the Church of *Wincheſter*. The *Saxon Annals* ſay, *Edſius* died in 1047. and *Alwin* in 1045. and therefore *Robert* could not be Archbiſhop till two Years after his Death, according to the *Annals*. Thus this whole Story ſeems to be a mere Fiction.

Sweyn, demanding the Aſſiſtance of *England*, *Goodwin* was of Opinion, that to keep the War between the two Princes, an Aid of fifty Sail ſhould be ſent him. But *Siward* and *Leofric*, for Reaſons unknown, prevented the Council from coming to this Reſolution. For want of this Aſſiſtance, *Sweyn* was dethron'd; but was reſtor'd to his Kingdom, after the Death of his Enemy.

The Daniſh Pirates make a Deſcent on England.

The Troubles in *Denmark* hinder'd not the piratical *Danes* from putting to Sea, and bringing Terror to the *Engliſh* Coaſts. In the Year 1046, twenty-five ſail of *Danes* arriv'd unlook'd for at *Sandwich*, from whence they carried off a great Booty. Then ſailing for *Eſſex*, they carried away for Slaves great Numbers of both Sexes and all Conditions. The *Engliſh* were extremely terrified; but *Goodwin*, *Siward*, and *Leofric*, took ſuch Meaſures that the *Danes*, alarm'd in their turn, haſtily retir'd, to carry their Ravages elſewhere.

Swane, the Son of Earl Goodwin, baniſh'd.

The Retreat of the *Daniſh* Pirates did not reſtore Peace to the Kingdom, the Sea-Coaſts being that ſame Year infeſted by a new Enemy. *Swane*, the Son of *Goodwin*, having deflower'd an *Abbeſs*, with whom he was in love, and not daring to ſtay in *England* after ſuch an Act, was retir'd into *Denmark*, where he had in vain expected his Pardon, by the Mediation of the Earl his Father. But whether *Goodwin* was willing he ſhould be chaſtiſed, or whether he found the King inexorable, *Swane* was not able to procure a Pardon ſo ſoon as he had imagin'd. Upon which he mann'd out eight Ships, and made open War upon the *Engliſh*, plundering the Merchants, and committing ſuch Barbarities on the Inhabitants of the Sea-Coaſts, as exceeded thoſe of the moſt cruel Enemies. His Inſolence gave *Goodwin*'s Enemies a Handle to exaſperate the King more and more againſt the Earl and his Family. He himſelf was at a great Loſs what to do in this Affair. He was not willing to appear openly for his Son, leaſt he ſhould be charg'd with abetting his Rebellion. On the other Hand, he could not but be extremely concern'd at *Swane*'s being declar'd an Enemy to the Publick. In this Perplexity, he deſir'd Earl *Beorn*, the Son of *Ulphon* and *Eſtrith*,

He infeſts the Engliſh Coaſts.

Eſtrith, Siſter to *Canute the Great*, to uſe his Intereſt with the King in behalf of his rebellious Son. Tho' *Beorn* had ſtoutly declaim'd againſt *Swane*, he was prevail'd upon by *Goodwin* to ſpeak to the King, who complied with his requeſt upon certain Terms. Matters being thus in a fair way of being made up, *Beorn* went to *Swane*, in order to perſwade him to ſubmit to the King's Mercy; but he was ill rewarded for all his Pains. *Swane* taking it in his Head that the Earl was come to betray him, ſlew him with his own Hand, and order'd his Body to be thrown into the Sea*. This brutal Action prevented a Reconciliation for the preſent. But the King forgave him afterwards, notwithſtanding his many complicated Crimes: So much did this weak Prince ſtand in Fear of *Goodwin*'s revenging himſelf, in caſe he continued inflexible. Thus *Goodwin*, tho' hated by the King, obtain'd as many Favours of him as if he had really held the firſt place in his Affections. But theſe good Offices, inſtead of producing a mutual Love, ſerv'd only to foment their Diſ-union. The Earl did not think himſelf at all oblig'd to the King for Favours that proceeded partly from Fear; and the King increaſed his Hatred, in proportion as he found himſelf conſtrain'd to conceal it.

1048. *Great Intereſt of the* Normans *with the King.*

Beſides the private Reſentment of the King towards *Goodwin*, the Earl had alſo to deal with ſome other Enemies, who were continually ſtirring up the Prince againſt him. I mean the *Normans*, who were very numerous at Court, and in great Credit there. Theſe look'd upon *Goodwin* as a profeſs'd Enemy, becauſe he complain'd aloud of the great regard the King had for them, and made no ſcruple to ſay, they would ſoon become as troubleſome as the *Danes*. His Complaints were not altogether without Cauſe. *Edward*, who had been bred up among the *Normans*, went into all their Manners, and expreſs'd ſuch an Affection for them, as rais'd the Jealouſy of the *Engliſh*,

* The *Annals* ſay, they buried his Body in a certain Church; but that afterwards his Relations and the Mariners of *London* digg'd up his Body and buried it at *Wincheſter* by King *Canute*. *Sax. Ann.* MXLVI.

The *Norman* Language was more ſpoke at Court than the *Saxon*. The Favour which the King ſhew'd the *Normans*, rendering them inſolent, they took upon them mightily, and would have all the World cringe to them. They who could not bring themſelves to this, ſeldom fail'd of feeling the Effects of their Reſentment. *Goodwin* was one of this Number. He look'd upon himſelf as powerful enough to ſtand upon his own Feet, without their Help. So far was he from ſeeking their Protection, that he affected by his continual Railleries to ſhow, that he thought it not in their Power to hurt him. *Robert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, of all the *Normans*, was in greateſt Credit at Court. The King had taken him from a Monaſtery in *Normandy* to promote him to the Biſhoprick of *London*, and afterwards to the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*, to the great regret of ſeveral *Engliſh* Biſhops, who aſpir'd to that high Station. This Prelate, who was naturally of a haughty Temper, and whom his Intereſt with the King made ſtill more arrogant, kept no Meaſures with *Goodwin*, who, for his Part, ſhow'd the utmoſt Contempt for him. The Archbiſhop, incens'd at being thus treated, made uſe of all his Addreſs to have a wrong Interpretation put on all the Earl's Actions, and to irritate the King ſtill more againſt him.

Archbiſhop of Canterbury. *Enemy to* Goodwin.

Matters ſtanding thus at Court, an Accident happen'd when leaſt expected, which brought Earl *Goodwin* to the brink of Ruin, and gave the King an Opportunity of ſhowing at laſt the Hatred he bore him. *Euſtace*, Earl of *Bulloign* *, being come to viſit the King his Brother-in-law, was honourably and kindly received, *Edward* having a particular Affection for him. Some time after, as he was on the Road, in order for *France*, one of his People, who was ſent before to provide him Lodgings at *Dover*, pick'd a Quarrel with a Townſman and kill'd him. This Accident making a great Noiſe among the Inhabitants, they ran to Arms, in order to ſeize the Murderer, who ſtood upon

Earl of Bulloign *comes into* England. Malm. Sax. Ann. *Quarrel between him and the Townſmen at* Dover.

* He was Father to the famous *Godfrey* of *Bulloign*, who won *Jeruſalem* from the *Saracens*.

upon his Defence, with ſome of the Earl's Domeſticks that were with him. *Euſtace*, entring the Town in the midſt of this Tumult, and ſeeing his People attacked, was oblig'd to take their Part, without having time to enquire into the Occaſion of the Quarrel. But being overpowered with Numbers, Twenty of his Retinue were killed on the Spot, and he himſelf narrowly eſcaped with his Life. Inrag'd at this Affront, he returned to the King at *Glouceſter*, where the Court was then, and loudly demanded Satisfaction. *Edward*, willing to do him Juſtice, order'd *Goodwin* to march immediately with thoſe Troops, and chaſtiſe the Rioters that were under his Government. But inſtead of obeying the King's Order, the Earl warmly replied that it was not the Cuſtom in *England* to puniſh People unheard, and that the Rights and Privileges of the Subjects ought not to be violated; that the Accuſed ſhould be ſummon'd, and make ſatisfaction with their Bodies or Eſtates if guilty, or if innocent, ſhould be diſcharg'd. He added, in a very haughty Tone, that being Earl of *Kent*, 'twas his Buſineſs to protect thoſe that were under his Government, againſt the Inſults of Foreigners. Some ſay, he even charg'd the King to deliver up the Earl of *Bulloign* into his Hands, that he might be puniſh'd upon the Place, if found guilty of this Riot. *Edward* was extremely nettled at this bold Anſwer; which was not only a downright Refuſal to obey his Commands, but alſo a ſtinging Reproach for his Partiality to Foreigners. The Archbiſhop and the reſt of the *Normans* earneſtly laid hold of this Opportunity to exaſperate him againſt the Earl, and to blow up a Flame, which was already but too much kindled.

He demands Juſtice.

Goodwin refuſes to obey the King.

But how angry ſoever the King was, he was forc'd to conceal it, not being in a Condition to puniſh on the Spot, a Lord whoſe Power rival'd his. *Siward* and *Leofric* being abſent, he durſt not attempt any thing againſt *Goodwin*, without being firſt aſſur'd of their Concurrence. In the mean time, as he was in the utmoſt Impatience of being reveng'd, he diſpatch'd truſty Meſſengers to theſe two Lords, to inform them of his Reſolution to chaſtiſe *Goodwin*, and to order, or rather to deſire them, to repair

The King is reſolv'd to puniſh Goodwin.

to

to him forthwith. How privately ſoever this Matter was tranſacted, *Goodwin* had notice of his Deſign, and took his Meaſures accordingly. As he was very ſenſible he ſhould be infallibly ruin'd, was he not before-hand with his Enemies, he drew together ſome Troops which were ſoon reinforced with others from his Son's Government. An Incurſion the *Welſh* made at the ſame time into *Herefordſhire*, furniſh'd him with a Pretence to levy this Army. He gave out that theſe Forces were rais'd to drive the Enemy out of the Kingdom, though he had receiv'd no Orders about the Matter. In the Interim, the King having ſummon'd him to appear before a *General Aſſembly* conven'd at *Glouceſter*, he came there with his Sons, but ſo well attended, that he had nothing to fear. Thus guarded as he was, the moſt Prudent knowing it would have been dangerous to have puſh'd Matters too far, adviſ'd the King to hide his Reſentments. They repreſented to him, that if the Earl ſtood on his Defence, as he ſeem'd reſolv'd to do, it was to be fear'd he would draw to his Side the Majority of the People, whoſe Intereſts he ſeem'd to eſpouſe, and therefore the giving him a Handle to carry his Audaciouſneſs any farther, could not be done without Danger. In purſuance of this Advice, ſuch a Peace was patch'd up as *Goodwin* deſired, that is, he came off by making ſome Excuſes, which related more to his manner of acting, than to the main Point in Hand.

Goodwin prepares to defend himſelf.

Is reconcil'd to the King.

This Reconciliation was of no long Continuance. *Edward*, who could not digeſt the Affront he had receiv'd, took new Meaſures againſt *Goodwin*, by gaining over ſome of his principal Friends by Preſents and Promiſes. As ſoon as Matters were order'd to his Mind, he conven'd a *General Aſſembly*, before whom *Goodwin* and his Sons were ſummon'd to appear. But being inform'd a Deſign was laid of apprehending them, they refuſ'd to appear, unleſs they had a *Paſs* and *Hoſtages* given them for their Security. Upon which, they were baniſh'd the Kingdom, and the Combination againſt them held ſo well together, that they ſaw themſelves abandon'd on a ſudden by their principal Adherents, and forc'd to ſubmit to the Sentence paſs'd upon them.

He is proſecuted again and baniſh'd.

Edward

Edward not content with having thus got rid of *Goodwin*, he ſhut up the Queen in the Nunnery of *Warwel*, with a Deſign, in all Appearance, never to take to her again. *Goodwin* retir'd to the Earl of *Flanders*, Father-in-law to his Son *Toſton*, and *Harold* ſail'd for *Ireland*, where he hop'd to meet with Aſſiſtance. Edward *ſends away the Queen.*

In the mean time *Goodwin*, who thought he had been unjuſtly dealt by, reſolv'd upon endeavouring to right himſelf by Arms, having no other Courſe to take, as Matters ſtood between the King and him. The Earl of *Flanders* having furniſh'd him with ſome Ships, he infeſted the *Eaſtern* Coaſts of *England*, whilſt *Harold* did the ſame to the *Weſtern*. But theſe faint Attempts were to little Purpoſe, ſeeing their Forces were not very conſiderable; and therefore *Goodwin* return'd to *Flanders*, where for two Years together, he left no Stone unturn'd to perſwade the Earl his Protector that it was for his Intereſt to lend him a powerful Aſſiſtance, and to have in *England* ſuch a Friend as he was. *Baldwin* being at length prevail'd upon, granted him an Aid capable of rendring him formidable. Whilſt on the other Hand, *Harold* mann'd out a good Number of Ships from *Ireland*. *Edward* having Intelligence of theſe Proceedings, fitted out a Fleet with all Expedition, the Command of which was given to *Randulph* of *Mantes* his Nephew (*a*), and another Lord nam'd *Odda*. Theſe two Admirals being inform'd that *Goodwin* had been ſeen off *Rumney* Point, reſolv'd upon going in queſt of him, in order to engage him; but he had time to ſail off elſewhere. His Meaſures being thus broken by the King's Expedition, he ſteer'd his Courſe back again for *Flanders*, and ſent *Harold* into *Ireland*. His view was to make the King believe, that he dropt his Undertaking, by reaſon of the Obſtacles he met with. In the mean while he kept his Fleet always in a readineſs to put to Sea, that he might lay hold of any Opportunity that might offer. Shortly after he had one given him, which he did not fail to Goodwin *takes meaſures to reſtore himſelf to his former State.* Edward *prepares to repulſe him.*

(*a*) He was Son to *Goda* the Siſter of *Edward*, and the Earl of *Mantes*.

to take the Advantage of. Whether the two Admirals had been wanting in Point of Duty or Conduct, or whether by the Intrigues at Court, which History has not vouchsafed to clear up, *Edward* on a sudden remov'd these two Lords from the Command of the Fleet. This Alteration, and the breaking some of the inferior Officers, rais'd such Discontents among the Sailors, that they ran away in Shoals. Thus the King's Ships not being in a Condition to keep the Sea for want of Hands, were brought up the *Thames* in order to be mann'd again. *Goodwin* by his Spies being inform'd how Matters stood, puts to Sea immediately, and makes a Descent on the *Isle of Wight*, where he extorted great Sums from the Inhabitants, whilst he waited for his Son *Harold*'s joining him. Which being done, they sail'd up the *Thames*, and advanc'd towards *London*, where the King's Fleet lay. *Edward* giving way to his Passion, was minded with what Ships were ready to go himself and try the Fortune of an Engagement; but his *Council* were against it. They represented to him, that instead of hazarding his Person in an Action, the Consequences whereof might prove very fatal, it would be more for his own and the Kingdom's Advantage, to try to make *Goodwin* return to his Obedience, by calmer Methods. This was wholesome Advice; but it would have been a hard Matter to bring the King to approve of it, had not *Goodwin*, who was inform'd of what pass'd at Court, pav'd the Way, by saving him the Shame of making the first Advances. He sent the King Word, that he was not come to fight against his Sovereign, but most humbly to intreat him to hear what he had to say in his Justification: That his coming thus arm'd was only to defend himself against the Insults of his Enemies, and that he should always make it his chiefest Glory to be the most faithful of his Subjects. How respectful soever this Message might be, *Edward*, looking upon it as a sort of an insulting Banter, flatly refus'd to hearken to any Terms of Accommodation: affirming, he could not resolve to pardon his Brother's Murderer. His Obstinacy had like to have had a fatal Effect. *Goodwin*'s Army, entirely made

Goodwin enters the Thames *and comes up to* London.

made up of Foreigners, who were in hopes of inriching themſelves with the Plunder of *London*, was for engaging the King's Fleet without Delay. But the Earl, who was perfectly inform'd how the *Council* ſtood diſpos'd, check'd the Ardour of his Soldiers, and behav'd in a very ſubmiſſive Manner with regard to the King. His Moderation at length had its intended Effect. *Edward* was prevail'd upon by the principal Lords, and eſpecially *Stigand* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, a faſt Friend to *Goodwin*, to receive the Earl into Favour again, at leaſt as to outward Appearance. He even agreed he ſhould be acquitted by the *General-Aſſembly* of the Kingdom of the Murder of Prince *Alfred*, which he was charg'd with a-new, on Condition he would give Hoſtages for his good Behaviour for the future *. *Goodwin* ſubmitting to the King's Terms, put into his Hands his Son *Ulnoth*, and his Grandſon *Hacune*, who were ſent forthwith into *Normandy*, *Edward* not thinking he could ſecure them in *England*. *Goodwin* and his Sons were reſtor'd to their Eſtates and Honours, and the King honourably took again the Queen his Wife, whom he imagin'd he had got rid of for his Life.

Goodwin *makes his Peace with the King; and gives him Hoſtages.*

Upon the firſt News of Matters being made up between the King and the Earl, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* retired to the Monaſtery of *Jumiege* in *Normandy*. Shortly after his Departure he was baniſh'd the Kingdom by an *Aſſembly-General*, as an Incendiary and Fomenter of Diviſions between the King and his Subjects. *Stigand* was made Archbiſhop in his room, on Suppoſition that the *See* was become vacant by his Baniſhment, a Suppoſition that the Court of *Rome* would by no means admit. Thus ended the Affair of *Goodwin*. In all appearannce this Lord was undone for ever; but, contrary to the Expectations of his Enemies, his Diſgrace tended only to the making him

The Archbiſhop of Canterbury *baniſh'd.*

Stigand *is made Archbiſhop*

* Mr. *Selden* in his *Titles of Honour*, p. 525 refers that Relation in *Brompton*'s Chronicle, taken notice of in the Note above, at *p* 54, to this *Aſſembly General*. See more of it in the Diſſertation on the Government of the *Anglo-Saxons*, under the Article of their *Laws*.

more powerful and formidable. This ſame Year he loſt his Third Son *Swane*, who being gone a Pilgrimage to *Jeruſalem*, died on the Road in ſome Place in *Syria*, where he fell into the Hands of Robbers *.

The Duke of Normandy *viſits* Edward.

The Court of *England* enjoying a profound Quiet ever ſince the Return of *Goodwin*, *William the Baſtard*, Duke of *Normandy*, took this Opportunity to pay a Viſit to *Edward*. Some ſay, *Edward* ſent him word by Archbiſhop *Roberts*, that he deſign'd to make him his Heir, and that his Aim in this Viſit was to get a Confirmation of his Promiſe. But this is only Conjecture. However, be this as it will, during *William*'s ſtay in *England*, the King took a Pleaſure in ſhowing his Gratitude for all the Civilities he had receiv'd both from him and from the Duke his Father.

Edward's *pretended* Will *in his Favour.*

'Tis affirmed, that after he had thus publickly teſtified his Gratitude, he gave him in private a more ſubſtantial Mark of his Affection, by making his *Will*, and nominating him for his Heir and Succeſſor. If it be true that *Edward* made his *Will*, which however no body ever ſaw, it is more probable he did it at this time, than when he was in *Normandy*. Whilſt the Throne of *England* was fill'd by the *Danes*; whilſt *Alfred* his elder Brother was alive, and likewiſe the Children of *Edmund Ironſide*, how could *Edward* foreſee he ſhould ever be King of *England*? But at the time *William the Baſtard* was in *England*, *Edward* bearing ſtill a mortal Hatred to *Goodwin* in his Heart, notwithſtanding their feign'd Reconciliation, might ſuſpect him of aſpiring to the Crown, and hope by this Settlement to break his Meaſures. But after all, it is much more probable that he made no *Will*, but contented himſelf with giving the Duke of *Normandy* ſome verbal Promiſe. However this be, 'twas this *Will*, real or forg'd, or this *verbal* Promiſe, that furniſh'd the Duke with a Pretence of becoming Maſter

* *Simeon of Durham* ſays, being pricked in Conſcience for the Murder of Earl *Beorn*, he went from *Flanders* bare-foot as far as *Jeruſalem*, and in his Return homeward died of a Cold he got in *Lycia*. *Sim. Dunelm*, p. 186.

ter of *England* after the Death of *Edward*. But it is very evident *Goodwin* knew nothing of this *Will*, or *verbal* Promiſe; which may be inſerr'd from his taking no Meaſures to prevent a *Norman* Prince from reigning over the *Engliſh*, though he was a ſworn Enemy to the *Norman* Nation. By the way, the Situation of Affairs then in *England*, where *Goodwin* almoſt equall'd the King himſelf in Power, renders incredible what ſome have been ſo hardy as to advance, that *Edward* got his *Will* in favour of *William* confirm'd by a *General Aſſembly*.

'Twas to no Purpoſe that *Edward* did all he could to prevent *Goodwin* from riſing any higher. This Earl's Power was grown to ſuch a Height, that it might have been of fatal Conſequence, had not Death freed the King from this Hated Subject, at a time he was become the moſt formidable. If we believe certain Hiſtorians, *Goodwin*'s Death was attended with extraordinary Circumſtances, which would highly deſerve our Notice, were they better atteſted. They tell us, as the King was one Day ſitting at Table with the Earl, he let fall ſome words, which plainly ſhow'd that the Murder of the Prince his Brother was not yet thoroughly blotted out of his Mind. They add, that *Goodwin* not doubting but he reflected upon him, roſe up, and addreſſing himſelf to the King, *I perceive, My Lord*, (ſays he with a great deal of Emotion) by *what you juſt now ſaid, that you ſtill think me guilty of the Death of the Prince your Brother, though I have been publickly acquitted of it. But to give you a freſh Proof of my Innocence, I pray God that this Morſel I am going to put into my Mouth may choak me this Moment, if I had any Hand in the Death of that Prince.* They pretend, that upon ſaying theſe Words, he went to ſwallow the fatal Morſel, but it ſtuck in his Throat and choak'd him immediately, to the great Aſtoniſhment of the Standers by. But this Particular, had it been true, was too remarkable to have been omitted by Hiſtorians of the beſt Credit, who make no mention at all of it. They agree that *Goodwin* died ſuddenly, as he ſat at Table with the King, but ſay not a Word of the above-mention'd Circumſtances, which in all probability were invented to blacken

1053. Goodwin's *Death.*

Harold *his Son succeeds him.*

the Memory of the Earl and his Family *. *Harold* his eldeſt Son ſucceeded him in all his Poſts, and thoſe he had before his Father's Death were given to *Alfgar*, the Son of *Leofrick* Duke of *Mercia*.

Harold's *prudent Conduct.*

The Death of *Goodwin* made no great Alteration in Affairs. *Harold* had the ſame Friends, the ſame Creatures, and the ſame Intereſt as the Earl his Father had when alive. All the Difference to be obſerv'd between the Father and Son, was, that the Son was of a Temper more courteous and condeſcending, carried himſelf with a great deal leſs Pride, and behav'd in a more reſpectful and ſubmiſſive Manner to the King. He was in hopes, by his Carriage, to blot out of the King's Mind the Ill-will he had ſo long bore his Family; but all to no Purpoſe. *Edward* perhaps had not ſo great an Averſion for him, as he had for his Father; but however he ſtood as much in fear of him, as indeed he had good reaſon to do. *Harold*, of as great Parts and Abilities as his Father, but withal of more Honour and Conſcience, firmly gain'd over to his Intereſts both the *Nobles* and People, by his civil and obliging Behaviour, whereas *Goodwin*'s Haughtineſs and Pride loſt him many Friends. In the mean while, the ſame Reaſons that conſtrain'd the King to carry it fair with the Father, oblig'd him to do the ſame with the Son. Tho' he lov'd him not, he durſt not ſhow his Ill-will, leſt it ſhould prove the Occaſion of a Rupture, which could not but be of very bad Conſequence, conſidering *Harold*'s

* The *Saxon Annals* ſay only, this Year Earl *Goodwin* deceas'd the 17th of the *Kalends* of *May*, and was buried in the old Monaſtery at *Wincheſter*. Anno MLIII. Almoſt all our Hiſtorians ſay, King *Edward* celebrating the Feaſt of *Eaſter* at *Wincheſter* (ſome ſay *Windſor*) Earl *Goodwin* was taken Speechleſs as he ſat at Table; and being carried into the King's Chamber by his Sons, he lay in a languiſhing Condition four Days, and died the fifth. This is the Account of his Death: but the *Norman* Monks, and ſuch as write in favour of them, add the above-Circumſtances, which ſhow either his Guilt or their Malice. He was a Man of an active or turbulent Spirit, not over conſcientious in getting or keeping what he could. But had he not been ſo great a Lover of his Country and an Enemy to Foreigners, thoſe who wrote in the *Norman* Times would have given him a fairer Character.

Harold's great Credit both at Court and with the People.

If the overgrown Power of the *Goodwin* Family created Uneaſineſs in the King, it was in ſome Meaſure balanc'd by the Satisfaction he had in ſeeing his Kingdom exempt from War, ever ſince his Acceſſion to the Throne. But this Tranquillity, which could not but be very grateful to a Prince of ſo unwarlike a Temper, was ſomewhat interrupted by a Quarrel with *Macbeth* King of *Scotland*, who had made himſelf Maſter of *Cumberland*. This little Kingdom, which for a long while had been under the Protection of the Crown of *England*, was in Diſpute between *Macbeth*, and *Malcolm*, a Lord of the Royal Family of *Cumberland*. *Edward* eſpouſing the Cauſe of *Malcolm*, commiſſion'd *Syward* to reſtore him to his Kingdom. This War laſted not long. *Syward* by one deciſive Battle oblig'd *Macbeth* to abandon *Cumberland*, and leave his Rival in Poſſeſſion of it *. *Syward* had ſcarce finiſh'd this Affair, when he was ſeiz'd with a Diſtemper that laid him in his Grave. When he found he was near his End, he got upon his Legs, and cauſing his Armour to be put on, expir'd in that Poſture, declaring it was a ſhameful thing for a brave Man to die in his Bed *1.

1054. *War for* Cumberland.

1055. *Death of* Syward.

After

* *Mat. Weſtminſter* ſays, but without any Authority, that King *Edward* conquer'd all *Scotland*, and beſtow'd it on *Malcolm* to hold it of him. Others ſeem to ſay he deſtroy'd *Macbeth*, and made *Malcolm* King of *Scotland*. Sim. Dunel. But moſt probably 'twas only of *Cumberland*.

*1 *Simeon of Durham* ſays, Earl *Syward*'s Son was ſlain in the Battle with *Macbeth*; and *Huntingdon* adds, that when the News was brought him, he ask'd, *whether he had received the Wound before or behind*? and being told, *Before*; He only replied, *I am glad to hear it*. *Brompton* ſays, he was a Man of almoſt a *gigantick Stature*, and gives us this ſtrange Account of his Grandmother the Daughter of a certain *Daniſh* Earl. As ſhe was one Day walking in a Wood near her Father's Houſe, accompanied only with her Women, a huge Bear ruſh'd from among the Trees, and frightning away her Attendants, carried off the young Lady alone; and getting her with Child, ſhe had a Son by him, nam'd *Bernus*, who was born with Bear's Ears; however by his Mother's Right he

Toſton Harold's *Brother made Earl of* Northumberland.

After the Death of this Earl, the Government of *Northumberland* was beſtow'd on *Toſton*, Brother to *Harold*, *Edward* not being Maſter of Reſolution enough to refuſe him that Favour, tho' he dreaded nothing more than the raiſing that Family. Some will have it that this was done out of *Policy*. They pretend that the King, by making as if he did it to gratify *Harold*, fill'd up the vacant Poſt with the propereſt Perſon to give a Check to his Ambition, by reaſon of the mutual Jealouſy between the two Brothers. But it does not appear that *Harold* and *Toſton* were then at variance, tho' 'tis true, they fell out afterwards. 'Twas therefore very imprudently done to truſt any one Family with two ſuch important Poſts as *Duke of Weſſex*, and *Earl of Northumberland*, which puts one Moiety of the Kingdom in the Power of the two Brothers. Thus the King, tho' he ſtood in the greateſt dread of the *Goodwin Family*, either out of Weakneſs, or falſe *Politicks*, did every thing to render them more powerful.

Harold's *Credit increaſes.*

But 'twas not only by the King's Favours that Earl *Harold* daily got Ground. His perſonal Merit and liberal Temper procur'd him ſuch Friends every Day, as were able to ſupport him againſt the Attempts of the King himſelf. Tho' he had married the Duke of *Mercia*'s Daughter, *Alfgar* his Brother-in-law carried it very coldly towards him, purely out of Envy at his Greatneſs. This Lord, being of a ſtirring and turbulent Spirit, enter'd into a dangerous Conſpiracy, and privately held Intelligence with *Griffin* King of *Wales*, to the Detriment of the Publick. *Edward* being inform'd of it, had him accus'd of Treaſon, and condemn'd to Baniſhment. *Alfgar* retir'd to his Friend *Griffin*, who receiv'd him with open Arms, and fomented his Diſcontent to the utmoſt of his Power *. Some time

Alfgar Leotric's *Son, baniſh'd:*

Retires to Wales, *and joins King* Griffin.

he ſucceeded to her Father's Earldom. In proceſs of Time he proved a valiant Soldier, and marrying, begot the brave Earl *Syward*, who came and ſettled in *England*, Bromp. *p.* 945.

* Hiſtorians are divided in their Opinions, whether this Earl was baniſh'd juſtly or not. *Simeon of Durham* and *Brompton* ſay, he went to *Ireland* firſt, and procuring 18 Ships, went and join'd *Griffin*.

time after they made an Inroad into *Herefordſhire* and defeated *Radulph*, Earl of that County, who had attempted to drive 'em thence. Encourag'd by this Succeſs, they began to make farther Advances *, when they met Earl *Harold*, who ſtopt their Career. He had of his own accord levied an Army in his Governments, and boldly march'd towards them, to give them Battle. They quickly found the Difference between him and *Radulph*. *Harold*, ſuperior in Valour and Conduct, put them to rout, and compell'd then to retreat into *Wales*, from whence they durſt not come forth any more. A Peace being the Fruits of this Victory, *Harold* made uſe of all his Intereſt to obtain a Pardon for *Alfgar*, and got him at length reſtor'd to his Eſtate and Honours. By this uncommon Act of Generoſity, he gain'd the Friendſhip of *Alfgar*, and wonderfully increas'd the Eſteem the World had of him before.

They are defeated by Harold.

Alfgar *reſtor'd.*

1057. The Reputation *Harold* acquir'd in this laſt Expedition, his Generoſity to *Alfgar*, his affable and obliging Behaviour, his beneficent Temper, entirely gain'd him the Hearts of the People. They began to talk openly, that ſince the King had no Heirs, no one was ſo worthy to ſucceed him as *Harold*. The Affection of the *Engliſh* for the Earl, very ſenſibly touch'd *Edward*, who had all along liv'd in hopes of an Opportunity to ruin him. Hitherto it ſeems as if this Prince had a Deſign of leaving the Crown to the Duke of *Normandy*, ſince he was not ignorant that he had a Nephew in *Hungary*, and yet had never once thought of recalling him Home and ſecuring him the Succeſſion. But the Moment he found Earl *Harold* aſpir'd to the Crown, or at leaſt, that the People mark'd him out for his Succeſſor, he judg'd it would be in vain to ſet up a *Foreign* Prince, in competition with an *Engliſh* Earl back'd with ſo great Power and Credit. This in all Probability was the Reaſon that

The People talk of Harold's *ſucceeding to the Crown.*

* They took and ſack'd *Hereford*, burning the Church and Monaſtery with the Relict of King *Ethelbert* treacherouſly ſlain by King *Offa*. *Hereford* (i. e.) *the Ford of the Army*, was built as a Frontier in the time of the *Heptarchy*. This was the only Misfortune that ever happen'd in this City. *Camd.*

Edward *sends for his Nephew from* Hungary.

that induced him at last to send for *Edward* his Nephew, the Son of *Edmund Ironside*, out of *Hungary*. He should have done this long before, had he not designed to have disposed of the Crown in favour of the other. Prince *Edward* came into *England* in 1057, bringing with him his young Son *Edgar*, with *Margaret* and *Christina* his Daughters, who were all three born in *Hungary*. The Arrival of this Prince, the Son of a King of *England*, whose Memory was dear to the Nation, could not but be very acceptable to the *English*; and therefore without Hesitation, they look'd upon him as the *Heir-Apparent* to the Crown, their Esteem for *Harold* giving place to their Affection for the Royal Family. Indeed there was no calling in Question this young Prince's Right to succeed his Uncle, since, had he not been absent when 'twas debated who should sit on the Throne after *Hardicanute*, there is no doubt but he would have had the Preference even before King *Edward* himself. Which Consideration was apparently the Reason the King his Uncle left him so long in *Hungary*, lest his Presence might occasion some dangerous Commotions.

Death of Prince Edward,

But this Prince, who seemed designed for the Crown, died soon after his Arrival in *England*, leaving his *just*, tho' *empty* Title, to *Edgar* his Son, surnamed *Atheling* *.

and of Leofric, *Duke of* Mercia.

Leofric, *Duke of Mercia*, quickly followed him, this same Year. Historians give this Lord a great Character; but especially they extol *Godiva* his Wife, above all the Women in her Time. 'Tis related of this Lady, that in order to free the Inhabitants of *Coventry* from a heavy Tax laid on them by her Husband, she readily consented to perform a very extraordinary Act. The Earl, upon her interceeding in their Behalf, told her, he would ease them of their Burden, provided she would ride on Horseback naked from one End of the Town to the other. This Condition gave the *Burghers* but little Hopes of being reliev'd. But *Godiva* undertook the Matter, covering her Body with

Godiva's *Adventure*.

* (*i.e.*) *Truly Noble*, to denote his being of *Royal Blood*. His Father, Prince *Edward*, surnam'd the *Out-law*, was buried at St. *Paul's London*, Sax. Ann. MLVII.

with her Hair, and commanding all Perſons to keep within Doors and from their Windows, on Pain of Death. How great ſoever the Penalty was, there was one, who could not forbear giving one Look, out of Curioſity, but it coſt him his Life. In Memory of whom, there is a Statue of a Man looking out of a Window, always kept in a certain Houſe at *Coventry* *. *Alfgar* ſucceeded to his Father's *Earldom*, by *Harold's* Intereſt, who earneſtly interceeded for him.

1062. Harold *aſpires to the Crown.*

Harold's Ambition and Hopes had new Life put in them by Prince *Edward*'s Death. 'Tis true, he had left a Son behind him, but ſo young that it ſeemed no hard Matter to ſet him by. Beſides, it was poſſible he might die before the King. Accordingly *Harold* was reſolved to make the beſt of the preſent favourable Conjuncture. But before he openly diſcovered his Deſigns, he thought it requiſite to get out of the Hands of the Duke of *Normandy*, *Ulnoth* his Brother and *Hacune* his Nephew, whom the Earl his Father had given for Hoſtages to the King. But tho' he was very urgent in demanding them, alledging, that ſince *Goodwin* was dead, there was no Manner of Reaſon to keep them any longer, and that 'would be highly unjuſt

* But whether this be ſo or no, there is a *Proceſſion* or *Cavalcade* ſtill made there every Year, in Memory of *Godiva*, with a *Figure* repreſenting a *naked Woman* riding thro' the City. The Pictures of *Leofric* and *Godiva* were alſo ſet up in the Windows of *Trinity Church*, with this Inſcription :

I Luric, *for the Love of Thee,*
Do ſet Coventry *Toll free.*

This City had its Name either from the *Convent* new-built and richly endow'd by *Leofric*, or as ſome will have it, from a Rivulet running thro' it, now call'd *Sherburn*, but in an old *Charter* of the *Priory Cuentford*. This City was famous for its Walls, which were demoliſh'd in *Charles* the II's Time, and the Gates only left ſtanding. In one of which, nam'd *Gefford*, is to be ſeen the vaſt *Shield-bone* of a Boar, which they tell you was ſlain by *Guy* Earl of *Warwick*, after he had with his *Snout* turn'd up the *Pool* or *Pond* now call'd *Swan-ſwell Pool*, but in antient *Charters*, *Swineſwell*. Here is alſo a fine *Croſs* built (33 *Hen.* VIII.) by Sir *William Hollies* Lord Mayor of *London*. Camd.

to deprive them of the Benefit of an *English* Education, yet he could not prevail with the King. *Edward* always put him off with saying, they were not in his Power, but in the Duke of *Normandy*'s, and therefore to him he was to make Application. In fine, *Harold* perceiving he could get no other Answer from him, desired leave to go into *Normandy*, to sollicite the Duke for their Deliverance. His Request was very readily granted. Nothing could be more agreeable to the King, than the Earl's Resolution of going to *Normandy*, not at all questioning but the Duke would detain him there. At least, he hop'd Duke *William* would take such Measures as would free him from all Obstacles the Earl might lay in his way.

He sets out for Normandy.

Harold having obtained the King's Consent, embarked for *Roan*, without the least Suspicion of the Danger he was running into, being ignorant of the King's Intention with relation to the Succession *. Hardly was he got at Sea, but a Tempest arose, which drove him on the Coast of *Picardy*, and compelled him to put in at one of the Ports of the Earl of *Ponthieu*, where he was immediately seized. As soon as he knew who he was, they carried him to *Gwido* Earl of *Ponthieu*, who, glad to find himself Master of so rich a Prize, was resolved to set a round Price on his Head. It would have been a difficult Thing for *Harold* to have got off, had he not, whilst he pretended to treat about his Ransom, found the means to inform the Duke of *Normandy* how Matters stood with him. As soon as the Duke received the News, he sent and demanded

Is seiz'd by the Earl of Ponthieu.

* *Harold*'s going to *Normandy* is variously related as to the Time, Manner and Occasion of it. With our Author agree *Simeon of Durham*, *Brompton*, and *Eadmer*, only with this Addition, that King *Edward* foretold him what would happen to him. *Malmsbury* says the Occasion of it was this. *Harold* being at his House at *Bosenham* in *Sussex*, had a Mind to go out in a Fisher-boat for his Diversion, but sailing further than he was aware, a Tempest arose and drove him as is here related by *Rapin*. *Matthew Paris* believes also, he was driven by a Tempest to *Normandy*, where to gain his Liberty he was forc'd to do as is here related. So uncertain are Traditional Accounts! Our Authors Conduct thro' this whole Affair seems to be the most natural and likely.

manded the Priſoner of the Earl of *Ponthieu*, letting him know, that he had no manner of Pretence to detain a *Stranger* that was going to *Roan*, and by a Tempeſt caſt on his Coaſts. The Earl not daring to diſpute the Caſe with the Duke, ſet the Priſoner at Liberty, who immediately went on to *Roan*. Duke *William* not being ignorant of *Harold*'s Deſigns on the Crown of *England*, was at a great Loſs how to behave towards him. He had but two Ways to take, both equally dangerous. He muſt either detain *Harold* by Force, or try to gain him by fair Means. If he went the firſt way to work, he was apprehenſive of declaring himſelf too ſoon, ſince 'twould not be for his Intereſt, that the *Engliſh* as yet ſhould know he had any Thoughts of ſucceeding to the Crown. Beſides, *Harold* had ſo many Friends in the Kingdom, 'twas to be fear'd the detaining him would occaſion a Rupture between *England* and *Normandy*, which would break all the Meaſures the King ſhould take in his Favour. And indeed, in caſe *Edward* ſhould die during the War, how was it poſſible for him to leave the Crown to a Prince that was actually in Arms againſt the *Engliſh* Nation? Moreover, *Harold* being Duke of *Weſſex* and Earl of *Kent*, all the ſtrong Places in the *Southern* Parts were in the Hands of his Creatures, and conſequently this would lay great Obſtacles in the Duke's way. In fine, the Duke had not perfect Information what Steps *Harold* had made to pave this Way to the Crown; as on the other Hand, *Harold* was ignorant of the Deſigns of the King and Duke. The Duke conſider'd further, that by detaining *Harold* in Priſon, he ſhould break the moſt *ſacred* Rights of Hoſpitality, which a *great Soul* could not be guilty of without offering extreme violence to it ſelf. Theſe Conſiderations induc'd him to take the other Courſe, tho' it was no leſs dangerous. By laying himſelf open to *Harold*, he put it in his Power to prevent the Execution of his Deſigns. However, believing he ſhould gain him by putting ſo great a Truſt in him, he plainly told him the Hopes he had of one Day mounting the Throne of *England*, grounded on the Good-will the King bore

Is ſet at Liberty, and comes to Roan.

The Duke at a Loſs how to act.

He endeavours to gain him, by diſcloſing to him his Deſigns.

bore him *. This Discovery was followed with large Promises, in case he would support his Pretensions, and the Assurance of a Reward proportionable to so important a Piece of Service. He let him know moreover, that his aspiring to the Crown, tho' not of the Royal Family, was no Secret to him, and endeavoured to make him sensible, how many Difficulties he had to encounter before he could attain to his Ends. To divert him from his Purpose, he laid before him all the Obstacles he must naturally expect to meet with, as well from *Edgar*, as the other *English* Lords, who would look on his Ambition with a jealous Eye. To these Considerations he added this material one. He roundly gave him to understand, that provided he was so fortunate, as to surmount all the Obstacles he had mentioned, he would still find in him an Enemy, who wanted neither Money nor Arms, nor Friends to maintain a Right he was resolved to defend to the last drop of his Blood. In fine, he represented to him, that in case he was bent to pursue his first Design, instead of securing, as he might now do, a Power and Grandeur, second to none but the Supreme, he ran the risk of losing a certain Good, for the Hopes of a very great Uncertainty.

Harold *dissembles the Matter, and promises to stand by the Duke.*

Harold was too wise not to see that on this Occasion he had but one Course to take; which was, to make as if he were convinced by the Reasons the Duke had alledged. He returned him therefore in Answer, That indeed, before the Arrival of Prince *Edward*, he had been of Opinion, that had the King died without Heirs, he was as worthy to ascend the Throne as any other Nobleman of the Kingdom. He even owned, that he had gone so far as to take some Measures, which might give him hopes of Success: But that he had dropt his Design ever since the coming of *Edward*, being sensible there was no Room to pretend to the Crown, as long as there were Princes of the Royal

* *Simeon of Durham* says, the Duke told *Harold* that *Edward*, whilst at his Court, promis'd to settle the Crown of *England* on him, *p.* 196.

Royal Family in *England.* In fine, he added, that ſince he was acquainted with his Pretenſions, and the King's Mind, which till then he had been ignorant of, he had much rather the Kingdom ſhould be governed by ſo great a Prince as the Duke was, than by *Edgar Atheling*, who ſcarce knew how to govern himſelf. To convince him the more that he was in good earneſt, he came to Terms with him, and among others, demanded one of his Daughters in Marriage, as a Reward for the Service he deſign'd to do him. Whatever *Harold* requir'd was immediately and joyfully complied with. But as the Princeſs the Duke deſign'd for him was too young, the intended Marriage was put off till time convenient. In the Interim, Duke *William*, not truſting wholly to *Harold*'s bare Word, made him ſwear on the Goſpels that he would punctually perform what he had promis'd; eſpecially, that he would never attempt to mount the Throne of *England.* This Agreement being made, they parted both of them extremely well ſatisfied in outward Appearance, and *Harold* return'd into *England.*

Harold takes new Meaſures to ſecure the Succeſſion to himſelf.

He was no ſooner at Liberty, but he look'd upon his Oath as extorted from him, and conſequently not binding. He could not underſtand upon what Grounds the Duke of *Normandy* could pretend to the Crown of *England*, or by what Right *Edward* could transfer it to a *Foreigner.* And therefore, ſo far was he from any Thoughts of ſtanding to his Engagements, that he was reſolv'd to take the Advantage of the Duke's entruſting him with his Deſigns, by managing Matters ſo as to render them abortive. From thence-forward he us'd a double Diligence to ſtrengthen his Party in ſuch a manner, as ſhould put it out of the Power of the King or Duke to lay any Obſtacles in his Way. If hitherto he had entertain'd any Scruple with regard to Prince *Edgar*, it entirely vaniſh'd upon conſideration that in

* The Duke made *Harold* ſwear to deliver up *Dover* as ſoon as King *Edward* was dead. Then loading him with Preſents, diſmiſs'd him with his Nephew *Hacune*, promiſing to bring over *Ulnoth* his Brother when he himſelf ſhould come into *England.* Sim. Dunel. p. 196.

in mounting the Throne himself he should do no Injury to that Prince, since the Crown would be otherwise disposed of even by his Uncle the King. He exerted therefore his Endeavours to secure an Interest in all the great Lords of the Kingdom; which he found no hard Matter to do. The Duke of *Normandy* was absent, and but little known in *England*, where moreover the *Normans* were extremely hated. Prince *Edgar*, by reason of his Youth, was in no Condition to put a Stop to proceedings so destructive to his Claims. As for the King, he was so unresolv'd in the Affair of the Succession, that he promoted the Interest neither of the Prince his Nephew, nor of the Duke. He was no doubt at a Loss how to reconcile the two Steps he had made; the promising the Duke of *Normandy*, and the recalling his Nephew from *Hungary*. He had no farther view, than the passing his Days in Peace, without troubling himself about what should happen after his Death. Thus every thing concurring to favour *Harold*'s Designs, he omitted nothing that might serve to confirm the good Opinion the *English* had of him. To which End, two very good Opportunities offer'd quickly after.

1063. Harold *subdues the* Welsh. Sim. Dun. Flor.

The *Welsh* having renew'd their Incursions under *Griffin* their King, *Harold* and *Toston* his Brother join'd their Forces to repulse them. They were so unfortunate in this Expedition, that, after having had the better several times of the *Welsh*, they compelled them to dethrone *Griffin*, and become tributary to *England*. *Griffin* being restor'd afterwards, and renewing the War with the *English*, *Harold* march'd to the Frontiers of *Wales*, and struck such a Terror into the *Welsh*, that they sent him the Head of their King *. This Event, which demonstrated how formidable

* This was the End of *Griffyth ap Lhewelyn*, to whom the *Welsh Chronicles* give the Character of a valiant and generous Prince, and for the most Part victorious. till now he perished by the Treachery of his own People. *Harold* sent the Head with the gilded Stern of *Griffin*'s Ship, which the *Welsh* had brought with the Head, to the King at *Glouceſter*. *Florence of Worceſter* adds, that the Brothers of *Griffin* swore Fealty to *Harold* as well as to the King.

ble *Harold* was to the Enemies of the Kingdom, confirm'd the *Engliſh* in their Opinion, that he, who knew ſo well how to defend it, deſerv'd to wear the Crown.

Another thing happen'd alſo, which added new Luſtre to *Harold*'s Character, by affording him an Opportunity of giving Proofs of his Moderation and Equity, as he had juſt done of his Valour and Conduct. *Toſton* his Brother, Earl of *Northumberland*, treated the *Northumbrians* with ſuch Severity, and committed ſo many Acts of Injuſtice, that in fine, the People not being able to bear his Cruelties any longer, took up Arms againſt him, and expell'd him *Northumberland*. This Action being of a dangerous Conſequence, *Harold* was order'd to go and chaſtiſe them, and reſtore his Brother. As ſoon as he came near them, the *Northumbrians* ſent Deputies to inform him of the Reaſons of their riſing. They told him, they had no Deſign of withdrawing their Obedience from the King, but only from an unjuſt and cruel Governour, who exercis'd over them a Tyrannical Power, which neither they nor their Forefathers had ever been accuſtom'd to. At the ſame time, they gave him to underſtand, that they were reſolv'd to hazard their Lives, rather than ſubmit to the like Power again. However, they ſolemnly proteſted, that provided the King would ſet over them one that would govern them according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of their Country, nothing ſhould be able to ſhake their Fidelity. To theſe Remonſtrances they added a long Liſt of the *Grievances* they had ſuffer'd under *Toſton*, and entreated *Harold* to prefer the Good of the Publick before the Intereſts of his own Family. *Harold* finding that this Affar related chiefly to *Toſton*, and that the King was not directly concerned in it, ſent an impartial Account of the whole Matter to the Court. At the ſame time he interceeded for the *Northumbrians*; and not content with obtaining their Pardon, he procur'd them *Morkard*, the Son of *Alfgar* Duke of *Mercia*, for their Governour *.

Toſton drove out of Northumberland.

Harold ſent to reſtore him: But approves of his being drove out.

Malm.

By

* Whom they themſelves earneſtly deſir'd to have. The occaſion of

By these just Proceedings he entirely gain'd the Affections of the *Northern* People, and knit the Band of Friendship between him and *Alfgar* closer than before; which was absolutely necessary for the bringing about his Designs.

A barbarous act of Toston's.

But if by these Actions he encreas'd in Favour with the People, he exasperated by them to the last Degree his Brother *Toston*, who never forgave him. But as it was not in his Power to vent his Fury on *Harold*'s Person, he turn'd it upon some of his Domesticks, whom he caus'd to be cut in Pieces, then to be barrell'd up, and sent to his Brother for a Present. After so barbarous an Action, not daring to stay any longer in *England*, he retir'd into *Flanders* to Earl *Baldwin* his Father-in-law.

1065. Edward *prepares for the Dedication of the Church of* Westminster.

Whilst *Harold* was thus paving his Way to the Crown, *Edward* gave himself but little Trouble about the Business of the Succession, which he had exceedingly embroil'd by the Engagement he had enter'd into with the Duke of *Normandy*. His Thoughts were wholly engross'd about building the Church and Monastery of *Westminster*; on which he laid out the Money he should have expended in a Jour-

of their Insurrection at this very time was this: One *Gospatrick*, a great Officer in *Northumberland*, having been murther'd at Court by Queen *Editha*'s Order, (tho' this seems contrary to her meek and pious Temper) on account of a Quarrel between him and her Brother *Toston*, and he likewise killing in his own Lodgings two of *Gospatrick*'s Friends, the People incensed at it, and at his other Grievances above-mentioned, rose to a Man, and were not appeas'd till he was banished the Land. *Flor. Sim. Dun.*

* *Huntingdon* (who had heard many Tales about the Hatred of *Goodwin*'s Sons to one another) tells us another Story of this Matter. The King as he was at dinner ordering *Harold* to serve him with the Cup, *Toston* was so enrag'd at his being preferred before him, that he flew in his Face in the King's Presence, and pull'd him down to the Ground by his Hair. But the Soldiers coming in and parting them, *Toston* in a Rage left the Court, and going to his Brother's Country House, serv'd his Domesticks as is above related. Upon which the King commanded him to be banish'd, and the *Northumbrians* expelled him their Country. But this does not seem probable; for what Occasion had the *Northumbrians* to rise against him, seeing he was banished before by the King?

a Journey he had formerly vowed to take to *Rome*, from which he was diſpens'd with by the Pope upon that Condition. In this very Place, call'd *Thorney* by the *Saxons*, ſtood formerly a famous Temple ſacred to *Apollo*. *Sebert*, King of *Eſſex*, after he had embraced the Goſpel, converted this *Pagan* Temple into a Chriſtian Church, which was deſtroy'd by the *Danes*. This Church, after having lain a long time in Ruins, *Edward* undertook the rebuilding of it, with an adjoining *Monaſtery*, which from its lying *Weſt* of *London*, was called *Weſtminſter* *. In proceſs of Time a City was built here by Degrees, which almoſt rivalled *London* itſelf. Theſe two Cities, ſeparated only by a Gate, have diſtinct *Magiſtrates* and *Privileges*, though they have often been confounded under the common Name of *London*. The Church and Monaſtery being finiſhed towards the latter End of the Year 1065, *Edward* was deſirous the *Dedication* ſhould be performed in a very *ſolemn* Manner. To this End he convened at *London* a *General Aſſembly*, at which were preſent all the *Biſhops* and *Great Men* of the Kingdom, who were to be Witneſſes of this Ceremony. At this very time it was, that the King was ſeiz'd with a ſudden Illneſs, of which he died in a few Days. As ſoon as he found the Time of his Diſſolution drew near, his principal Care was the finiſhing the *Ceremony*, on account whereof the *Aſſembly* had been conven'd *ı. As for the Succeſſion, he would not meddle with it, ſurrounded as it was with ſo many Difficulties. In his own Mind he was for the Duke of *Normandy*: The Right was manifeſtly

* It was dedicated to St. *Peter*. This Fabrick of *Edward*'s was demoliſhed by *Henry* III. about 160 Years after, who erected a new one, which was 50 Years in building. The *Abbots* very much enlarged it on the *Weſt-ſide*, and *Henry* VII. added to the *Eaſt* a *Chapel*, which *Leland* calls *the Miracle of the World*. *Edward* was buried in his newly dedicated Church.

*ı The *Great Men* alſo ſign'd the *Charter* of the Privileges and Immunities granted to the Church, to which was annexed, as is ſaid, the firſt *Great-Seal* uſed in *England*. Though *Tyrrel* thinks other Kings might have *Seals* to their *Charters*, though they are now defac'd. *B.* VI. *p.* 99.

in Prince *Edgar* his Nephew: but *Harold* had the Hearts and Hands of the *English*. The Case standing thus, the Difficulties, which he could never bring himself to determine while he was in Health, were become insurmountable in the Condition he was in, and therefore he resolv'd to leave the Decision of the Matter to God alone.

In the mean while *Harold* was not idle. Almost all the Lords of the Kingdom, both Spiritual and Temporal, being then assembled at *London*, he found the Means to get them to come to a Resolution of sending Deputies to the dying King to entreat him to name a Successor. But at the same time, they had Orders to insinuate to the King, that in case he nominated any but *Harold*, he would infallibly embroil the Kingdom in endless Troubles, which would be inconsistent with his Wisdom and the Affection he had all along expres's'd for his People. *Edward*, not being then in a Condition to examine a Proposal of this Nature, replied, That since they were met in a Body, he left it to them to chuse him whom they judg'd most worthy to rule over them. He died a few Moments after, leaving the Succession as unsettled at his Death as it had been during his Life.

Edward's *Death in* December, 1065. *His Character.*

This Prince, who was born at *Gislip* * near *Oxford*, reign'd 24 Years, without any Molestation from foreign Enemies. However, he can't be said to have reign'd happily, since he liv'd in continual Fears, occasioned by the overgrown Power of Earl *Goodwin* and his Family. His mild and peaceable Temper were a great Means however to procure him some Tranquillity. Had he attempted the humbling *Goodwin*'s Pride, and the lessening *Harold*'s Power, he would most certainly have involved himself in Troubles, from whence he would have found it a hard Matter to extricate himself. But by shutting his Eyes at their secret

* Now *Islip*. In the *Chapel* here, called the *King's Chapel*, not many Years since stood a *Font*, the same, as Tradition has constantly deliver'd it down, wherein *Edward* the Confessor was baptiz'd. But being put to an indecent Use, was at last remov'd to the Garden of Sir *Henry Brown*, Bart. of *Nether-Riddington* in *Oxfordshire*. *Add.* to *Camd.*

cret Practices, feigning to know nothing of their Deſigns, he prevented them from acting more openly, caus'd them to lay their *Schemes* at a greater Diſtance, and by that means gain'd time to arrive at the End of his Days. He was remarkable neither for his *Virtues* nor his *Vices*; and his natural Parts were but mean. His *Piety* has been exceedingly cried up, and has acquir'd him the glorious Title of *Confeſſor*; and yet we don't find he was any Sufferer on account of his Religion, unleſs we ſhould look upon as a ſort of *Martyrdom*, the Mortifications he privately laid upon himſelf out of a Religious Motive. It is certain, he was very charitable, and laid out in Alms the Sums other Princes vainly laviſh away upon their Pleaſures. This join'd to his bountiful Temper, of which he gave from time to time uncommon Inſtances, made him paſs for a *Saint* among the People, and particularly among the Monks, who reap'd great Advantages from his liberal Diſpoſition. They have not been ſatisfied with extolling his Virtues to the Skies, but have even, if I may ſay ſo, *canoniz'd* his very Faults, and endeavour'd to put them off as ſo many Proofs of his Holineſs. Of this we need no other Witneſs but his own *Hiſtorian* or rather *Panegyriſt*, who attributes his voluntary Chaſtity to a Vow he made before his Marriage. This Writer aſſures us, that *Edward* eſpous'd *Editha* the Daughter of *Goodwin* purely to exerciſe his Virtue by a continual Temptation. But 'tis eaſy to ſee, he acted from a very different Motive, ſince he got rid of his Wife the Moment he thought he could do it with Safety. However, the Opinion of his *Sanctity* having by degrees taken deep Root in the Minds of the People, he was canoniz'd by Pope *Alexander* III. by the Name of *Edward the Confeſſor* *. Ailred.

It was not thought enough to allow this Prince all the Virtue neceſſary to carry him to Heaven, unleſs he had a Place given him alſo among the *Saints* of the *firſt* Claſs.

* About 200 Years after his Death. There was likewiſe a *Bull* of Pope *Innocent* IV. to fix the *Anniverſary*, and order the Solemnity of the *Feſtival*. *Martyrol. Rom. Baronius Jan.* 5.

We are told he was favour'd with several *Revelations*, with the Gift of *Prophecy*, and many other *miraculous* Powers; for the Proof of which such weak and trifling Instances are produc'd, as are not worth mentioning. However, I can't pass over in Silence one special Privilege he is said to receive from Heaven, of curing the *King's Evil*. 'Tis even affirm'd, this Privilege has descended upon the Kings of *England* his Successors. Hence the Custom in *England* of the King's *Touching for the Evil* at a certain Time of the Year *. But the late King *William* III. of *Glorious*

* It will not be amiss to relate the first Instance of this *Hereditary Miracle*, as Mr. *Collier* calls it. A young married Woman having the Misfortune to be barren, and troubled at the same Time with the Distemper since call'd the *King's Evil*, was, after all human Means had been tried in vain, admonished in a Vision to go to the King, by whose Merits she should be cur'd upon his *Washing*, *Touching*, *and Signing with the Cross* the Parts affected. The Woman runs to Court next Morning overjoyed, and tells the King the whole Matter; who thereupon disdains not to *Wash*, *Touch* and *Cross* her putrified Sores, which immediately breaking, and Corruption and Worms bursting out, the Parts were in a few Days healed without the least Scar remaining; and moreover, her Barrenness was removed, and she soon became the joyful Mother of Children. This is the first Act, as it is given us by *Ailred* in his History of *the Life and Miracles of* Edward *the Confessor*, of that *Supernatural* Power, enjoy'd by the Kings of *England* ever since. But though Mr. *Collier* says, to dispute this Matter is to go to the Excesses of *Scepticism*, yet there are some, who doubt of it on the following Accounts.

I. This Power is generally fix'd to the *Lineal Succession*; whereas 'tis plain, there was no such thing in those Days, neither was *Edward* himself the next Heir.

II. 'Tis plain from *Ailred*, that this Priviledge was given him not as a King, but as a *Saint*; and *Malmsbury* says, they are to be blam'd that attribute it to his *Royalty* and not to his *Sanctity*. Consequently there is no Reason his Successors, who were certainly no *Saints*, should be so highly favour'd of Heaven.

III. *Ailred* reckons up many other Miracles which he performed; as the restoring to their Sight Six or Seven blind Men, *&c.* but does not say a Word of his Power of curing the *Evil* descending to his Successors, any more than his Power of restoring the Blind to their Sight, or of his removing Barrenness, which one would think should be join'd to the other, since they were cured both by the same *Touch*.

IV. As

ous Memory, was ſo perſuaded he ſhould do no Injury to ſuch was were inflicted with this Diſtemper, by not *Touching* them, that he refrained from doing it all his Reign. The Kings of *France* have claim'd the ſame Privilege ever ſince the Time of *Clovis*, the firſt Chriſtian King of that Kingdom *.

What has been moſt cried up in King *Edward*, was his *Good-Nature*, which they have endeavoured to ſet off by ſeveral Inſtances: I ſhall content my ſelf with producing two of them as a Specimen of the reſt. One Day being laid down upon the Bed, one of his Domeſticks, who did not know he was in the Room, ſtole ſome Money out of a Cheſt he found open, which the King let him carry off without ſaying a Word. Quickly after, the Boy returning to make a ſecond Attempt, the King call'd out to him without the leaſt Paſſion, *Sirrah, you'd beſt be ſatisfied with what you've got, for if my Chamberlain comes and catches you, he'll not only take away all you have ſtol'n, but alſo whip you ſeverely* *1. Another Time, as he was hunting, a Countryman maliciouſly ſpoiling his Sport, he gallop'd up to him, and ſaid to him in Anger, *By our Lady, I would be revenged on thee if 'twas in my Power.* Theſe are the inconteſtable Proofs of his eaſy and good Nature, which, according

IV. As there is no evident Reaſon why the Kings of *England* ſhould have this Privilege above any other Chriſtian Prince, ſo if Heaven had granted ſuch a Power to our Kings, one would think they ſhould have it in ſuch a Degree as to render it viſible to all, and that the Cure ſhould immediately follow the *Touch*: Whereas Multitudes are not cured at all, and thoſe that are pretended to be ſo, not till a conſiderable Time after they have been touch'd.

* This Miracle is appropriated by *Laurentius*, Phyſician to *Henry* IV, to the Crown of *France*; but Dr. *Tucker* is even with him, for he makes the Kings of *France* to do it by Virtue of their Alliance to the *Royal Family* of *England*. And Mr. *Collier* will have the Antiquity of this Power to be on the Side of *England*, ſince he ſays, *Lewis the Godly* was the firſt that *Touch'd for the Evil* 200 Years after our *Edward*. *Eccl. Hiſt.*

*1 The Story goes on, that the Chamberlain coming in after the Boy was gone, and miſſing the Money, fell into a great Rage; but the King calmly ſaid to him, *Be contented, it may be the poor Rogue that has it wants it more than we do; there's enough left for us.* Ailred. Vit. Ed. *p.* 376. X. Scrip.

according to his *Panegyrists*, raise him far above all other Men.

Edward was the last King of *Ecbert*'s Race, tho' not the last *Saxon* King, as some have affirmed, since his Successor was of that Nation. Had not this weak Prince preposterously abstain'd from conversing with his Queen, a very beautiful and vertuous Lady, he might perhaps have had Heirs, and by that means prevented a *Revolution*, which involv'd the *English* in Slavery.

Before the Reign of *Edward* the *West-Saxon*, *Mercian* and *Danish* Laws were observ'd in *England*, namely, the First in *Wessex*, the Second in *Mercia*, and the Last in *Northumberland*. This Prince reduced them all into one *Body*; and from his Time they became common to all *England*, under the Name of the *Laws of Edward*, to distinguish them from the *Norman* ones which were introduced afterwards *.

21. *HAROLD* II.

HAROLD II. 1066. *elected by the Assembly General.*

IF the *Great Men* assembled to appoint a Successor to *Edward*, had been sway'd only by *Justice*, *Equity*, and the *antient Customs* of the Kingdom, it would scarce have admitted of a Debate, to know on whom the Crown was devolv'd. *Edgar Atheling* was the only Prince left of the Family of the antient Kings, and consequently, the only one who had a Right to lay claim to the Crown. But *Harold* had so well laid his Schemes, that he was unanimously elected, without any Regard to the Right of the lawful Heir. As for the Duke of *Normandy*, it does not appear his Pretensions, grounded on the late King's Promise, were at all consider'd. It is certain this Prince had never publickly declared his Design of aspiring to the Crown

* Concerning this *threefold* Distinction of the Laws, see what has been said at *p.* 39. and also in the following Dissertation, under the *Head* of the Laws of the *Anglo-Saxons*.

Crown of *England*. Accordingly the *Engliſh* Lords might be ignorant of the Matter, or at leaſt pretend to be ſo. But in Caſe they had really known his Deſigns, it would have ſerved only to furniſh them with a freſh Motive, to place on the Throne a King more capable than *Edgar Atheling*, of defending the Kingdom againſt the Attacks of a foreign Prince.

Various Opinions about Harold's ſucceeding to the Crown.

The Manner of *Harold*'s ſucceeding to the Crown is variouſly related by Hiſtorians: Several affirm that he was elected with one common Voice, and without the leaſt Conſtraint, by the *Wittena-Gemot* then aſſembled, and that he was crown'd the Day after his Election by the Archbiſhop of *York**. Others ſay, he uſurp'd the Crown by compelling the *Great Council* to elect him, after he had extorted his Nomination from the late King juſt as he was dying *1. There are ſome, who look upon this Election as all a Fiction, affirming, that *Harold*, without troubling himſelf about the Conſent of the *Nobles* or *People*, put the Crown on his Head himſelf without any Formality *2. The Reaſon of this great Diverſity among the Hiſtorians proceeds from their eſpouſing either the Right of *Harold*, or of the Duke of *Normandy*, as if Prince *Edgar*'s Claim was to be reckon'd as Nothing; whereas in Truth he alone had a Right to ſucceed to the Crown. But ſeeing among this Variety of Opinions, a Man is in danger of being ſway'd by the Paſſions and Prejudices of Hiſtorians, ſooner than by the Juſtice and Equity of the Thing, 'twill not be amiſs to clear up this Matter, by laying before the Reader, what might be pleaded in Behalf of the three *Competitors*.

As

* *Saxon Annals*, and *Hoveden*, with ſome other of the *Engliſh* Writers. The Biſhops were all for *Harold* to a Man.

*1 *William of Malmsbury*, and ſuch as eſpous'd the Title of the Duke of *Normandy*.

*2 *Huntingdon* is of this Opinion, and adds ſeveral were for ſetting up *Edgar Atheling*. *Ingulphus* more cautiouſly ſays, *Harold* forgetting his Oath made to Duke *William*, intruded himſelf into the Throne.

Edgar's Title.

As for *Edgar*, all I shall say for him is, he was the only surviving Prince of the Royal Blood. 'Tis true, his being born out of the Kingdom might be objected against him. But as Prince *Edward* his Father had not been banish'd in a legal Manner, his being forc'd by *Canute* to live in Exile, ought by no Means to invalidate his Son's Right.

The Duke of Normandy's Right inquir'd into Knighton.

As for the Duke of *Normandy*, one can hardly believe he aspir'd to the Crown of *England* without some Foundation, and yet one can't conceive upon what Grounds he proceeded; so great is the diversity of Opinions upon this Head. Some tell us he was invited over by the *English* to free them from the Tyranny of *Harold* (*a*). Others say, that *Edward*, when in *Normandy*, promis'd him, if ever he came to the Crown, he would make him his Heir. In fine, several affirm, that *Edward* appointed him his Successor by his last Will; and some go so far as to assure us, this Will was confirmed in *Edward*'s Life-time by the *General Assembly* of the Nation: But after all, this pretended *Will* was never produc'd. Neither does it appear that Duke *William* ever founded his Claim upon any such Thing, as if he had known it, or had it in his Hands. In all probability therefore the Foundation he went upon, was some *verbal* Promise *Edward* had made him when he was in *England*. 'Twas doubtless in pursuance of his Promise, that he required *Harold* not to rise up in Competition against him. Had the *English* done *Edgar* Justice, and plac'd him on the Throne, in all likelihood Duke *William* would never have attempted, upon so frivolous a Pretence, to snatch the Crown from the Head of a Prince to whom of Right it belong'd. But he had to deal with *Harold*, who, being only a *private* Man, had procur'd himself the Crown by indirect Practices, and without any manner of Right. Accordingly, setting aside Prince *Edgar*, he put his Right in the Balance against the present King's only. His Interest induc'd him to think, that *Edward*'s Promise was equivalent.

(*a*) I believe *Knighton* to be the only one that said this.

lent to an Election, ſince they had thought fit to exclude the lawful Heir. To this may be added, that he had look'd upon the Crown of *England* as what he could not miſs of, eſpecially after he had bound *Harold* by an Oath. And therefore, the Indignation of being impos'd upon, the Deſire of Revenge, and chiefly his Ambition, the Root of the Quarrel, all concurr'd to inſpire him with a Reſolution to make an Attempt upon the *Engliſh* Crown, and to bear up againſt all Oppoſition. Perſwaded as he was, that he had no leſs Right than *Harold*, he thought he might uſe Force to wreſt the Crown from a Prince, who had naturally no Title to it. Theſe in all appearance, were the Motives that engag'd Duke *William* in ſo great an Undertaking, the Succeſs whereof ſeem'd very doubtful.

Harold's Right ought alſo to be conſider'd under a double View, with regard to the Duke of *Normandy*, and with regard to Prince *Edgar*. If we examine into the *Election* of this King, in oppoſition to the Duke, we find nothing but what was *Regular* and according to *Form*, and againſt which the Duke could have any juſt Reaſon to object. It is certain, that altho' *Edward* had nominated Duke *William* his Succeſſor, either by *Will*, or otherwiſe, the Nomination would have been of no Force, unleſs confirmed by the *Aſſembly of the States* *. This indeed is what ſome affirm was done, being ſenſible the Duke's Title without it was little worth. And in Truth, where is that Nation, who, without being forc'd to it, would ſuffer their King, by his own *bare* Nomination, to ſubject them to a Foreigner, to the Excluſion of the Princes of the Royal Blood, or even of the moſt worthy Lords of the Kingdom? If this was ever the Caſe, it was brought about by Surpriſe, before the *People* had time to oppoſe it. The *Election* therefore of *Harold* was very lawful, at leaſt with regard to the Duke of *Normandy*, ſince 'twas made by the *Aſſembly*

The Examination of Harold's Title.

* See more of theſe Matters in the following Diſſertation under the Head of *the Succeſſion to the Crown.*

General, whoſe Power Duke *William* could have no Right to diſpute.

But in comparing *Harold*'s Title with Prince *Edgar*'s, it's a hard Matter to give it ſo favourable a Turn. It may indeed be defended by the Opinion of thoſe who maintain, that during the *Saxon Government*, the Crown was *Elective*, and that the *Nobles* and *People* had a Power of giving it to whom they thought fit. But beſides the Difficulties attending this Notion, 'twould not ſerve to juſtify *Harold*'s Election, ſuppoſing it was Fact. How extenſive ſoever ſome would make the *Privileges* of the *Aſſembly-General* in this Reſpect, yet no one, I believe, will affirm they had a Power of beſtowing the Crown on a private Perſon, to the Prejudice of the Princes of the Royal Family. At leaſt they would find it exceeding difficult to produce any Inſtances from the Hiſtory of the *Anglo-Saxons* to their Purpoſe. The Queſtion then turns upon theſe two Points, whether the Nation had a Right to elect *Harold*, to the Excluſion of *Edgar*, or whether, on this Occaſion, they did not ſtretch their Power beyond its natural Bounds. As I deſign to treat of this Matter in another Place *, I ſhall not undertake to decide the Queſtion at preſent, but only remark, that ſuppoſing the Nation had ſuch a Power, yet it muſt be owned it was abus'd at this Juncture, and that *Edgar* had great Injuſtice done him. But notwithſtanding all its Defects, this Election gave *Harold* an incomparable better Title than the *bare* Nomination of King *Edward* could do to Duke *William*, granting the forementioned *Will* was as *Real*, as it appears to be *Imaginary*. From what has been ſaid, 'tis eaſy to ſee, that the Duke of *Normandy*'s Claim was built on a very weak Foundation. But to return to our Hiſtory.

After *Harold* was crown'd, there was not a Perſon in the Kingdom but what own'd him for Sovereign, and paid him Obedience. But though Matters ſtood thus at Home, it was otherwiſe Abroad. Not to mention the Duke of *Normandy*, who, before he diſcovered, put himſelf

* In the Place mentioned in the Note before this.

ſelf in a Condition to execute his Deſigns, Earl *Toſton* was preparing to diſturb the King his Brother in the Poſſeſſion of his new Dignity. He could not forgive him his impartial Proceedings, when in favour of the *Northumbrians*, he diſpoſſeſs'd him of his Government. Though *Harold*'s Acceſſion to the Crown ſhould have render'd him more formidable to him, this Conſideration ſerv'd only to inflame his Hatred the more, and to put him upon ſearching out all poſſible Means to dethrone him. As he was not ignorant of the Duke of *Normandy*'s Intentions, with whom he had enter'd into a pretty cloſe Friendſhip, on Account of their having married two Siſters, the Daughters of the Earl of *Flanders*, he went to him in order to concert Meaſures with him againſt the King his Brother. There is no doubt but Duke *William* ſpurr'd him on in his Deſigns: But it does not appear that he furniſhed him with any Money, Troops, or Ships, of all which he himſelf ſtood in ſo great want againſt his intended Invaſion. In all likelihood therefore it was the Earl of *Flanders*, his Father-in-law, that ſupplied *Toſton* with ſome Ships, by the means of which he infeſted the *Engliſh* Coaſts, and plunder'd the *Iſle of Wight*. From whence he went and landed ſome Troops at *Sandwich*. But being inform'd the King was marching towards him, he ſet Sail for the *North*, and entring the *Humber* with his little Fleet, he made a Deſcent on *Yorkſhire*, and committed Ravages as if he had been in an Enemy's Country. *Harold*, not thinking it adviſeable to leave the Southern Parts, commiſſioned Earl *Morcar* to go againſt his Brother; who having been made Governour of *Northumberland* in the Room of *Toſton*, was more particularly concerned to put a Stop to his Incurſions. As for the King, he reſided at *London*, that he might have an Eye over *Edgar*'s Party, and prevent them from exciting any Troubles upon the young Prince's Account. This ſeem'd to him, at that Time, to be what he had moſt Reaſon to fear; being very ſenſible that the Injuſtice done *Edgar* ſat hard upon the Minds of thoſe who were well-affected to the ancient Royal Family. Accordingly,

Harold's behaviour to Edgar.

to prevent their Discontents from breaking out into Action, he mightily caress'd the Prince as well as those of his Party. He even insinuated from time to time, that he had accepted the Crown purely on account of *Edgar*'s Youth, willing they should understand, as if he meant to restore it to the Prince when he was of a fit Age to govern. With this View he created him Earl of *Oxford*, and seem'd to take a very particular care of his Education, as if he designed to qualifie him for the Government of the Kingdom.

Morcard *drives* Totton *to his Ships.*

In the mean time *Morcard*, accompanied with his Brother *Edwin* Earl of *Chester*, march'd with all Expedition against *Toston*, who was got on the South-side of the *Humber*. He came upon him unawares in *Lincolnshire*, and by that means put his little Army to flight, and compell'd him to betake himself to his Ships. *Toston* finding he could do nothing considerable with so small a number of Forces, steer'd towards *Scotland*, in hopes of meeting with Assistance there. But as perceiving the King of *Scotland* was not dispos'd to aid him, he puts to Sea again, with design to make another Descent on *England*. Prevented by contrary Winds, he was drove on the Coast of *Norway*, where he accidentally stumbled upon what he had been seeking so industriously.

He is driven to Norway.

Harold Harfager King of *Norway*, had just before made himself Master of some of the *Orcades* *, which belong'd to

* They are now call'd the *Isles of Orkney*. Whatever the Antients have said of their Number, there are but 26 that are inhabited, the rest are us'd only for Pasturage, and are call'd *Holmes*. *Orkney* lies *North* or *Caithness* in the Latitude of 59 and 60 Degrees. Eagles are in such plenty here and do so much Mischief, that whoever kills one, is entitled to a Hen from every House in the Parish. The largest of these Isles is *Mainland*, antiently *Pomonia*, 24 Miles long, whereon stands the only remarkable Town, called *Kirkwal*, famous for St. *Magnus*'s Church and the Bishop of *Orkney*'s Palace. These Isles were first inhabited by the *Picts*, who kept possession of them till destroyed in 839 by *Keneth* II of *Scotland*, from which Time they were subject to the *Scots*, till delivered up by *Donald Ban* the Usurper in 1099, to *Magnus* King of *Norway*, but in 1263 they were surrendered to *Alexander* III King of *Scotland*, by Treaty with St. *Magnus* King of *Norway*

to *Scotland*, and was fitting out a more numerous Fleet in order to puſh on his Conqueſts. *Toſton* being inform'd of this Prince's Deſigns, went directly to him, pretending he was come on Purpoſe to propoſe to him a more noble Undertaking. He repreſented to him, that a favourable Opportunity offer'd to conquer *England*, if he would but turn his Arms that way. The better to perſwade him to this, he told him, there were in the Kingdom two powerful Factions, both Enemies to the King, the one for Prince *Edgar*, the other for the Duke of *Normandy*, and therefore the *Engliſh* being thus divided, he would find it no hard Matter to ſubdue them. Adding, that he himſelf had a ſtrong Party in *Northumberland*, which would very much help forward the Buſineſs. In fine, he brought him to believe that the King his Brother was extremely odious to the *Engliſh*, and would be certainly deſerted by them, as ſoon as they ſaw in *England* a foreign Army ſtrong enough to ſupport his Enemies. *Harfagar*, greedy of Fame, and already devouring in his Imagination ſo noble a Prize, wanted not much Sollicitation to engage in this Deſign. Prepoſſeſs'd by *Toſton* of the Feaſibleneſs of the Thing, he reſolv'd to employ all his Forces in making ſo glorious a Conqueſt.

The Duke of Normandy prepares for the Invaſion of England. Malm. Camd.

Whilſt the King of *Norway* was buſied in his Preparations, the Duke of *Normandy*'s Thoughts were no leſs taken up about the Means of wreſting from *Harold* a Crown, he had ſo long fed himſelf with the Hopes of, and which he could not bear to ſee on his Head without extreme Regret. Tho' his Rival, in all appearance, was firmly ſeated on his Throne, the Duke imagin'd he was able to pull him down, ſince the Way by Arms was ſtill open, when all other Methods

way, who is ſaid to build the ſtately *Cathedral* at *Kirkwal*. They have ſince remain'd annex'd to the Crown of *Scotland*. In *Hoy*, one of theſe Iſles, lies a Stone call'd the *Dwarfie Stone*, 36 foot long, 18 broad, and 9 thick, hollowed by Art with a ſquare Hole of 2 foot high for the Entry. Within, at one End, is a Bed big enough for two Men, excellently hewn out of the Stone, with a Pillow; at the other End is a Couch, and in the Middle a Hearth for a Fire, with a Hole over it for the Chimney. *Orkney* gives a Title to an *Earl*.

thods fail'd. However, to proceed regularly, he sent Ambassadors to him, to require him to deliver him up the Crown, and in case of Refusal, to charge him with the Breach of his Oath, and declare War against him. *Harold* told the Ambassadors, "Their Master had no Manner of "Right to the Crown of *England*: That supposing the "late King had dispos'd of it in his Favour, a Thing the "*English* knew nothing of, it was contrary to the Laws "of the Land, which allow not the King to give away the "Crown according to his *Fancy*, much less to a *Foreigner*. "As for his Part, he had been elected by those, who had "the Power of placing the Kings on the Throne, and there-"fore could not give it up without the Breach of that "Trust the *English* had repos'd in him. As for the Oath, "the Violation whereof he was charged with, it having "been extorted from him at a Time when he had not the "Power to help himself, was *Null* and *Void*, by the Laws "of all the Nations in the World. In fine, he added, "that he knew how to defend his Right against any Per-"son that durst dispute it with him". This Quarrel being of too great Consequence to be decided without coming to Blows, each Party took such Measures as he judg'd most likely to prove successful *.

Duke William *continues his Preparations.*

The Duke's Vexation at having been deceived, the Desire of Revenge, the Shame of drawing back, and the pleasing Hopes of being Master of *England*, spurr'd him on to exert his utmost to bring about his Ends. On the other Side, *Harold* finding he was like to have so formidable an Adversary to cope with, thought nothing would be of more Service to him, than the gaining the People to his Interests. To this Purpose, he made himself more Popular than ever. He lessen'd the Taxes, and caus'd Justice to be duly and impartially administred. In fine, he omitted nothing that might serve to confirm his Subjects in the Esteem and

Harold gains the Affections of the People.

* *Brompton* says, Duke *William* sent a second Message to King *Harold*, offering to desist from his Claims, provided he would marry his Daughter. But this is very improbable; for besides that our best Historians tell us the young Lady, was dead, it is not likely the Duke's Ambition would be so easily satisfied.

and Affection they had already entertain'd for him. His Labour was not in vain. The *Engliſh*, charm'd with his firſt ſetting out, which afforded them ſo pleaſant a Proſpect, reſolv'd to ſacrifice their Lives and Properties to ſupport him on the Throne to which they had rais'd him. Duke *William*, for his Part, not being ignorant of the Reſolution of the *Engliſh*, perceived he had no other way to attain his Ends, but by bringing into the Field an Army equal to that of his Enemy.

Duke William *endeavours to raiſe Money.*

The main Difficulty was, to raiſe a Sum of Money ſufficient for the Charge of ſo great an Undertaking. The firſt Method he took was to convene an Aſſembly of the *States of Normandy*, in order to obtain their Concurrence. But he found them very backward to come into his Scheme. They told him, that "*Normandy* having been "drain'd of Men and Money by the late Wars, they were "ſo far from being in a Condition to think of making "new Conqueſts, that they were hardly able to defend "their own Territories againſt the Attacks of a power- "ful Invader. Beſides, how juſt ſoever the Duke's "Claim to *England* might be, they could not ſee that "any Advantage would accrue to their Country from "this Expedition. In fine, that they were not oblig'd "by their *Allegiance* to ſerve in *Foreign* Wars, wherein "the *State* had no Concern". This home Anſwer cutting off all Hopes of the Duke's raiſing Money in a publick way, he bethought himſelf of an Expedient, which ſucceeded to his Wiſh. This was to borrow Money of private Perſons; and having got ſome of the chief Men to contribute, the reſt were inſpir'd with an Emulation who ſhould be moſt zealous in aſſiſting their Prince. *William Fitz-osbern* undertook to fit out Forty Ships at his own Expence. The moſt wealthy, every one according to his Ability, ſubſcrib'd very large Sums: So that the Duke by this Method rais'd more Money than he could have done by a publick Tax. But as this would not do, he engag'd ſeveral of the neighbouring Princes to furniſh him with Troops and Tranſports, on condition of their having

The States *refuſe to contribute.* Camd. Brit. Normans.

having Lands aſſign'd them in *England* after the Conqueſt. He even demanded the Aſſiſtance of *France*; but it was not the Intereſt of that Crown that the Duke of *Normandy* ſhould become more powerful. 'Twas very lucky for him that King *Philip*, who was then a *Minor* under the Care of the Earl of *Flanders*, obſtructed not his Proceedings, which a Prince that had been old enough to have known his own Intereſts, would infallibly have done. 'Tis true indeed, the Court of *France* endeavour'd to diſſuade the Duke from his Enterprize; but to no Purpoſe.

France lets him proceed without obſtruction.

In the mean time Duke *William*, who was very ſenſible of the Weakneſs of his Title, omitted nothing that might ſerve to give it the Colour of Juſtice. With this view he bethought himſelf of an Expedient exceeding proper to blind the Eyes of the World; which was to get the Pope to approve of the Matter; to whom, 'tis ſaid, he made a Promiſe of holding the Kingdom of *England* of the *Apoſtolick See*. However this be, the Pope very heartily eſpous'd his Cauſe, and ſent him a *conſecrated Banner* *, as a Mark of his Approbation. Moreover, willing that all Chriſtians ſhould know that *Religon* was concerned in the Caſe, he ſolemnly excommunicated all that durſt oppoſe the Duke in the Execution of his Project. This Approbation was of great Service to the Duke, as it furniſh'd him with a Pretence to juſtify his intended Expedition, and at the ſame time remov'd the Scruples of ſuch as he was endeavouring to engage in his Quarrel. But it had not the ſame Effect in *England*. Whether the *Engliſh* knew nothing of the *Pope*'s *Excommunication*, or whether they looked upon it as a great Piece of Partiality, it prevented not *Harold* from equipping a large Fleet, and raiſing a numerous Army, with which he expected the coming of the Enemy.

The Pope applauds his Deſign.

The Charge of keeping ſo conſiderable an *Armament* on Foot, could not but be very burthenſome to the People, a thing the King would have been glad to avoid. After he had in vain waited ſome Months for the Coming of

Harold diſmiſſes his Army upon a falſe Information.

* With a Golden *Agnus Dei*, and one of St. *Peter*'s Hairs.

of *Duke William*, finding Winter drew on, he imagined, pursuant to some false Informations he had receiv'd, that the Duke had put off his Expedition till the Spring. Accordingly he thought he might safely lay up his Ships for the Winter, and disband his Troops, in order to save an useless Expence. Camden.

But as he was returning to *London* out of *Kent*, where he had given Orders for disbanding the Army, News was brought him that the King of *Norway*, accompanied with Earl *Toston*, was enter'd the *Tyne*, with a Fleet of 500 Sail. Surpriz'd at this unexpected Invasion, he hastily drew his Army together again, which were dispersing themselves. But before he could do it, the *Norwegians* had made a great Progress. After they had sack'd the *Counties* on both Sides the *Tyne*, they put to Sea, and entring the *Humber*, landed their Forces on the *North*-side, and ravag'd the Country with inexpressible Cruelties. *Morcar* and *Edwin*, who were upon the Spot, endeavoured to put a stop to their Career, with some Troops levied in haste; but they were so roughly handled, that their whole Army was destroy'd. Blown up with this Success, the *Norwegians* advanc'd towards *York*, and laid Siege to the City, which they quickly became Masters of; the Inhabitants, who were unprovided with all things necessary for their Defence, choosing rather to surrender upon Terms, than expose themselves to certain Ruin. In the mean while, *Harold* having drawn his Army together, advanc'd with all Expedition, in order to give the *Norwegians* Battle, who having left their Fleet in the *Humber*, were marching towards the *North*, to compleat the Conquest of *Northumberland*, before they proceeded any farther *Southward*. As they march'd on but slowly, and as *Harold* made all the Expedition possible, he came up with them at *Stanford-Bridge*, on the River *Derwent*, a little below *York*. The *Norwegians* upon his Approach, intrench'd themselves in such a Manner, that it

The King of Norway *ravages* Northumberland.

Defeats Morcar *and* Edwin.

The Battle of Stanford-Bridge.

* Which *Camden* says, is also called *Battle-Bridge*, from this Engagement between *Harold* and the *Norwegians*. In *Latin*, *Pons belli*.

ſeem'd impoſſible to drive them from their Station. They were poſted on the other Side of the River, where there was no attacking them but by the Bridge, of which they were Maſters. Notwithſtanding this, *Harold*, who was very ſenſible how much it behov'd him to come to an Engagement, ordered the Bridge to be attacked without delay. The *Norwegians* defended it ſtoutly; but they could not withſtand the Efforts of the *Engliſh*, though animated by the aſtoniſhing Valour of one of their own Men, who defended the Bridge alone againſt the *Engliſh* Army for a conſiderable while. At length, the brave *Norwegian* being ſlain *, *Harold* became Maſter of the Bridge, and paſs'd his Army over: Then furiouſly falling on the Enemy, after an obſtinate Fight, entirely routed them. There had never been ſeen in *England* an Engagement between two ſo numerous Armies, each Side having no leſs than threeſcore thouſand Men. The Battle, a very bloody one, laſted from ſeven in the Morning till three in the Afternoon. *Harfager* and *Toſton* were both ſlain, and *Harold* obtain'd a compleat Victory. Of the whole Army that came from *Norway* in 500 Ships, the Remains were carried off by *Olaüs* the Son of *Harfager*, in twenty Veſſels, with the Conqueror's Leave. The Booty which was taken upon this Occaſion was very great, ſince they found in the Camp all that the *Norwegians* had brought from Home, and all that they had plunder'd in the Kingdom *1. But *Harold* having been ſo impolitick as to retain the Spoil to himſelf, rais'd ſuch Diſorders in his Army, as prov'd of very ill Conſequence to his Affairs afterwards *2. One would think this Prince, who was naturally of a generous Temper, ſhould have ſecur'd the Hearts of his Soldiers by a Liberality which would have coſt him nothing, eſpecially

Harfager and Toſton ſlain.

* He is ſaid to have killed forty Men with his own Hand.

*1 *Adam Bremenſis* ſays, they took ſo much *Gold* among the Spoil, that twelve young Men could hardly bear it on their Shoulders. This Battle was fought nine Days before *William the Conqueror* landed.

*2 'Twas the Cuſtom in thoſe Days for all the Spoils to be fairly divided among the Officers and Soldiers.

ſpecially at a time he ſtood in ſo great need of their Service. But he conſidered, that by expending this Booty in the War againſt the Duke of *Normandy*, it would go a great way towards eaſing the People, whoſe Affections he was deſirous to retain at any rate. Nevertheleſs, he ſhould not have forgot that the gaining the Hearts of his Soldiers was no leſs neceſſary. Doubtleſs 'twould have been better he had done ſo, ſince he would have been ſure to have found them grateful at another time. It has been often obſerv'd, that your Soldiers are never ſo little regarded, as when by their Bravery they have procur'd to their Maſters ſome ſignal Advantages, becauſe their own Victories tend to render them uſeleſs. But 'tis no leſs certain, that ſooner or later a diſcontented Army give their Prince or their General cauſe to repent of uſing them ill.

The Duke of Normandy *invades* England.

Whilſt *Harold* was buſied in the *North*, in rectifying the Diſorders occaſion'd by the *Norwegian* Invaſion, the Duke of *Normandy*, who had been long waiting for a Wind at St. *Valery*, ſet ſail towards the End of *September*, and had a ſpeedy Paſſage to *Pevenſey* * in *Suſſex*. 'Tis affirmed, that in leaping aſhore, he fell all along on his Face; at which one of the Soldiers ſaid merrily, *See our Duke is taking Poſſeſſion of* England; which Saying the Duke took as a *good Omen*. Finding none to diſpute his Landing, his firſt Care was to run up a Fort near the Place where he diſembark'd, to favour his Retreat in Caſe of Neceſſity. Some however will have it, that he ſent his Ships back to *Normandy*, to let his Army ſee they had nothing to truſt to but their Valour *. After ſome Days ſtay at *Pevenſey*, he march'd along the Shore as far as *Haſtings* *1, where he built a ſtronger Fort than the former, reſolving to wait there for the Enemy, of whom he had heard no News. 'Twas here he publiſhed a *Manifeſto*, ſhowing the Reaſons of his coming into *England*; namely, in the firſt Place to revenge

* Now Pemſey.

He publiſhes a Manifeſto.

* *Camden* ſays, he order'd his Ships to be burnt.

*1 The Chief of the *Cinque-Ports*, whoſe Burgeſſes retain the old Title of *Barons*.

Camden. the Death of Prince *Alfred*, Brother to King *Edward*. This was a frivolous Pretence, if he did make uſe of it, ſince Earl *Goodwin*, who was the Contriver of that Murder, was dead, and *Harold* had never been charged with it. *Secondly*, To reſtore *Robert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to his *See*. But this was no better a Reaſon than the firſt, ſince this Prelate had been baniſh'd by the *General Aſſembly* in *Edward*'s Reign, and conſequently the preſent King could not be blam'd for it. 'Tis very likely this Article was inſerted in the *Manifeſto* on the Pope's Account, to ſerve as a Cover for his Partiality in favour of the Duke. *Thirdly*, and principally, to offer the *Engliſh* his Aſſiſtance to bring *Harold* to condign Puniſhment for preſuming to ſeize the Crown, without any Manner of Right, and directly contrary to his Oath. It may be obſerv'd, that he ſaid not a word of *Edward*'s *Will*, or of any *verbal Promiſe* made him by that Prince, and that his Silence on theſe Points render this third Motive of his very ſlight and trifling. For indeed, without ſuch a *Will* or *Promiſe*, what Pretence could the Duke of *Normandy* have to trouble himſelf about the Affairs of *England*? Some affirm he founded his Right on his Relation to *Edward*; but he was no ways Kin to the late King but by *Emma* of *Normandy*, who had never any Title to the Crown; beſides, he himſelf was a Baſtard. But he did not ſo much build his hopes on his *Manifeſto*, as on the Strength of his Army. He was very ſenſible, if he obtain'd the Victory, 'twould be no hard Matter to make his Reaſons go down. In the mean time, not to terrify the *Engliſh*, he order'd his Army to injure none, but ſuch as were actually in Arms againſt him. But neither this Charge, nor his *Manifeſto* drew any body over to his Side. They cou'd not conceive what Grounds he had to enter the Kingdom in this hoſtile Manner, or what Advantage any one could have by taking his Part.

Harold *comes to* London. The News of the *Norman* Invaſion was quickly brought to *Harold*, who was ſtill in the *North*, little expecting their coming 'till the Spring. As ſoon as he was inform'd of the Matter, he ſet forward, in order to give the New-

comers

comers Battle, whom he did not think more formidable than the *Norwegians*. By haſty Marches, he came to *London*, where upon a Review, he found his Army very much diminiſhed, not only by his Loſſes at the Battle of *Stanford*, but by Multitudes deſerting out of Diſcontent. However all the *Nobility* of the Kingdom came in to him, and offer'd their Aſſiſtance at a Juncture, wherein it was no leſs their Intereſt than his to repell the Foreigners. Whilſt he ſtaid at *London*, expecting the coming of ſome of his Troops that were behind, Duke *William* ſent Ambaſſadors to require him to deliver up the Crown, and to charge him with the Breach of his Oath. He was ſo mov'd at the Haughtineſs wherewith the Ambaſſadors addreſs'd to him, that he could hardly refrain from uſing them ill. However he governed his Paſſion; but was even with his Enemy, by ſending him a menacing and inſulting Meſſage. The Duke heard with Patience all that *Harold* had ordered to be ſaid to him, and diſmiſſed the Ambaſſadors without returning any Anſwer,

The Nobility come in to him.

Ambaſſadors from the Duke.

In the mean time *Harold* having drawn all his Forces together, went and encamped about ſeven Miles from the *Norman* Army, with a Reſolution to give them Battle. Whilſt the two Armies lay thus near one another, Spies were continually ſent out by both Sides, each Leader being deſirous to know the Strength and Poſture of his Enemy. But the *Engliſh* Spies magnified in ſuch a manner the Numbers and Diſcipline of the *Normans*, that the principal Officers began to doubt of the Succeſs of the War *. *Gurth*, Brother to *Harold*, took an Occaſion from theſe Reports, to perſwade the King to put off the Battle. He repreſented to him, "That by prolonging "the Time, he would find his Army to increaſe conti- "nually, whereas the Enemy's Forces would daily be di- "miniſhed. That nothing could annoy the *Normans* more "than wintering in an Enemy's Country, where they had "not

Harold encamps near the Normans.

Gurth's Speech to his Brother.

* Some of the Spies took the *Normans* to be an Army of Prieſts, becauſe they were ſhaven, it being the Cuſtom then among the *Engliſh* to wear long Beards.

" not ſo much as one ſtrong Hold to retreat to, and from " whence in all probability the want of Neceſſaries would " compel them to retire. That as he was accus'd of " the Breach of an Oath, he had reaſon to fear, in caſe " he was guilty of the Charge, that Heaven would not " proſper his Arms: But however, if he was abſolutely " bent to come to an Engagement without any farther " Delay, it would be moſt prudent for him, not to be " preſent in Perſon at the Battle, that he might diſcourage " the Enemy with the dread of having a freſh Army to " deal with, in Caſe they ſhould be ſo fortunate as to get " the better of this. In fine, if he would truſt him with " the Command of his Forces, he would promiſe him, " not indeed the Victory, which was in the Hand of God " alone, but however to dye in the Defence of his Coun- " try". The King was deaf to all his Brother had urg'd, " and made Anſwer, " That by his former Actions he had " gain'd the Eſteem of the *Engliſh*, and therefore could not " think of loſing it again by an inglorious Flight. That " he had rather run the Hazard of a Battle, the Succeſs " whereof was as yet uncertain, than forfeit his Reputati- " on, as he ſhould moſt certainly do, if after ſo near an " Approach to the Enemy, he ſhould be known to with- " draw. That after all, the *Normans* were not more for- " midable than the *Norwegians*; and that ſince he was to " fight, he could not do it at a better time, than whilſt " his Army was fluſh'd with their late Succeſs. In a " Word, that he was reſolved to let his Subjects ſee he " was not unworthy of the Crown he wore". Duke *William* perceiving by all *Harold*'s Motions, that he was bent upon giving him Battle, advanced a little forward, for the ſake of a commodious Piece of Ground, where he could draw up his Army to the beſt Advantage.

Harold's *Anſwer.*

The Duke ſends Propoſals to Harold.

Whilſt they were preparing for a Battle, which was to decide the Fate of both Princes, Duke *William* ſeem'd to abate ſomewhat of his Haughtineſs. 'Tis to be preſum'd, that the Thoughts of a Battle in an Enemy's Country, where his Loſs would be irretrievable, inſpir'd him with

ſome

ſome Dread of the Iſſue. On the other Hand, he could not well forbear reflecting beforehand on the Blood that was going to be ſpilt in a Quarrel, the Juſtice whereof he could not be thoroughly convinced of, how much ſoever he appear'd to be ſo. Be this as it will, before they engaged, he ſent the King by the Hands of a certain Monk theſe four Propoſals for him to take his choice. The firſt was, to deliver up the Crown, as he had bound himſelf by Oath to do. By the ſecond, he offered to return into *Normandy*, provided *Harold* would do him Homage, and hold the Kingdom under him. By the Third, he was ready to ſubmit the Determination of the Matter to the Judgment of the *Apoſtolick See*. Laſtly, he propos'd the deciding of their Quarrel by ſingle Combat. 'Tis no wonder *Harold* rejected theſe four Propoſals, ſeeing they were all ſo advantageous to the Duke. As for the two Firſt, 'tis viſible how detrimental they were to *Harold*. The Third ſeemed at firſt Sight ſomewhat fairer; but the Pope having already declared in favour of the Duke, what Juſtice could *Harold* expect from him? As for the Fourth, the Balance plainly inclined to the Duke's Side, ſince in a ſingle Combat, he hazarded only his Perſon, whereas *Harold* run the Risk of loſing his Crown with his Life. The Victory would have put the Duke of *Normandy* in poſſeſſion of a noble Kingdom, whereas it would have only gained the King the bare Glory of coming off Conqueror. Beſides, *Harold* was of Opinion, that the Deciſion of an Affair, wherein the whole Nation was concerned, ought not to depend on the Strength and Skill of a ſingle Arm. His Anſwer therefore was, that God ſhould determine on the Morrow, on whoſe Side Juſtice lay.

The Battle of Haſtings.

The *Engliſh* ſpent the whole Night in carouſing and ſinging, as if they had been ſure of the Day. The *Normans* on the contrary were employed in preparing for the Battle, and offering up Prayers to God for Succeſs. At length, on the 14th of *October*, *Harold*'s Birth-Day, but much more memorable for one of the greateſt Events that ever happened in *England*, the two Armies engaged. In the

the Front of the *English* ſtood the *Kentiſh* Men, a Privilege they had enjoyed ever ſince the Time of the *Heptarchy*. *Harold* plac'd himſelf in the Center, and reſolved to fight on Foot, that his Men might be the more encouraged by ſeeing their King expos'd to equal Danger with the meaneſt Soldier. The *Normans* were drawn up in three Bodies. *Montgomery* and *Fitz-osbern* led up the Firſt. *Geoffrey Martel* commanded the ſecond, and the Duke himſelf headed the Body of Reſerve, to ſuccour thoſe who ſhould moſt want it. The *Normans* began the Fight with a Volley of Arrows, which being ſhot upward were like a thick Cloud over the Heads of the foremoſt Ranks of the *Engliſh*. As their Ranks were very cloſe, the Arrows did great Execution. The *Engliſh* not being us'd to this way of fighting, were at firſt put into ſome Diſorder. The *Normans* willing to take the Advantage of it, vigorouſly attack'd them. But the *Engliſh* immediately falling into good Order again, gave them ſo warm a Reception, that they were obliged to draw back and take Breath. Quickly after, they renew'd their Attack, but met with as brave a Reſiſtance as before, neither was it in their Power to break their Ranks. The *Engliſh* chuſing rather to die than give way, and the *Normans* aſhamed to retreat, both ſides fought ſtoutly for a conſiderable Time, without either gaining the leaſt Ground. The Preſence of their Leaders animating their Soldiers, they every where fought with equal Bravery, ſo that there was no diſtinguiſhing which Side had the better. We may judge of the Valour of the Troops in both Armies by the length of the Fight, which began at Seven a Clock in the Morning, and laſted till Night.

The Victory a long time doubtful.

I ſhall not take upon me fully to deſcribe this bloody Battle, I find ſo much confuſion in the Accounts of Hiſtorians, that I durſt not pretend to give a clear and diſtinct Notion of the Matter. I ſhall content my ſelf therefore with relating two Circumſtances, which, all Hiſtorians unanimouſly agree, gave the *Normans* the Victory. The Fight had laſted all Day without any one's being able to gueſs how it would end; when Duke *William* bethought himſelf

The Duke's Stratagem

himſelf of a Stratagem, which made the Victory incline to his Side. This Prince, who had a great deal of Experience, perceiving there was no breaking the Ranks of the *Engliſh*, order'd his Troops to retreat as they fought, as if diſheartned, but at the ſame Time to take ſpecial Care not to break their Ranks. This Order being put in Execution, the *Engliſh* look'd upon the Enemy's Retreat, as the beginning of their Victory. Full of this Notion, they encourag'd one another by reiterated Shouts, to preſs the retiring Enemy. Their Eagerneſs made them break their Ranks, that they might drive them back with the greater Impetuoſity, imagining they were upon the Point of taking to their Heels. Then it was, that the *Normans*, finding their Stratagem had taken Effect, ſtood their Ground, and by a Diſcipline they had long been us'd to, clos'd their Ranks again; after which, falling on the diſorder'd *Engliſh*, they made a terrible Slaughter of them. *Harold*, at his Wit's End to ſee the Victory, which a Moment before he thought himſelf ſure of, ſnatch'd out of his Hands, exerted his utmoſt to rally his Troops that were in extreme Diſorder. His Labour was not altogether in vain, ſince he drew up on a riſing Ground, at a little Diſtance from the Field of Battle, a good Body of Foot, which became at length very conſiderable, by being continually join'd by the flying Troops. The Duke of *Normandy*'s Victory being far from compleat, whilſt ſo ſtrong a Body of the *Engliſh* kept together, he order'd them to be attack'd with a freſh Fury. But the *Engliſh* receiv'd them with that Bravery, and the *Normans* loſt ſuch Numbers of their Men, that the Fortune of the Day ſeem'd ſtill doubtful. The Approach of the Night, and the Reſolution of the *Engliſh* making the Duke deſpair of penetrating their Ranks, he began to look upon himſelf as conquer'd, ſince he was not entirely victorious. In all appearance, the *Engliſh* Army might have retreated in good Order enough, by Favour of the Night, if *Harold* could have bore the Thoughts of leaving the Enemy in poſſeſſion of the Field of Battle, at a Time when the Loſs on both Sides was pretty near equal. But out of an Ap-

Harold *rallies his Troops again,*

and repulſes the Normans.

He could not think of retreating.

prehenſion that his Retiring might be prejudicial to his Affairs, and derogatory to his Reputation, he reſolv'd to ſtand his Ground, and not give the Enemy that Advantage over him. Beſides, he was in hopes of rallying his whole Army during the Night, and of renewing the Fight the next Day.

In the mean time the Duke perceiving the Night was going to rob him of the Glory of a compleat Victory, made one Effort more to drive the *Engliſh* from their Station. In this laſt Onſet, *Harold* was ſlain by an Arrow ſhot into his Brains. His Troops, diſheartned at this fatal Accident, began to give Ground, and betake themſelves to Flight. Thus *Harold*'s Death was a ſecond Reaſon of the *Normans* being victorious, and of the *Engliſh* being entirely routed. They were purſued as long as Day laſted; and in this Purſuit it was, that a terrible Slaughter was made of them, the Victors putting all to the Sword they could overtake, to ſave the trouble of guarding the Priſoners. The Darkneſs of the Night however ſav'd a good Part of the *Engliſh* Army, who retreated under the Conduct of *Morcar* and *Edwin*. Theſe two Lords, who had all along firmly adher'd to *Harold*, ſeeing he was ſlain, as well as *Gurth* and *Lewin* his Brothers, ſubmitted at length to Providence, after having given, the whole Day, viſible Marks of their Valour. This long and bloody Battle coſt the Duke of *Normandy* the lives of 6000 of his Men; but the *Engliſh* loſt a much greater Number *.

Harold ſlain, and the Engliſh entirely routed.

Duke *William*, at the Height of his Wiſhes, gave orders for the whole Army to fall on their Knees and return Thanks to God for ſo ſignal a Victory. After he had done this, he caus'd his Tent to be pitch'd in the Field of Battle, and ſpent the reſidue of the Night among the ſlain. On the Morrow, he order'd his own Dead to be buried, and gave the *Engliſh* Peaſants leave to do the ſame Office for

* This Battle was fought near *Heathfield* in *Suſſex*, in the Place where the Town of *Battel* now ſtands, ſo call'd from this Day's Action, wherein our Modern Hiſtorians ſay were ſlain above threeſcore Thouſand *Engliſh* Men.

for the others. The Bodies of the King and his Brothers being found, he ſent them to *Gith* their Mother, who gave them as honourable a Burial as the preſent Circumſtances would permit, in *Walthaw-Abby*, founded by the King her Son *.

Thus fell *Harold*, with his Sword in his Hand, in Defence not only of his own, but of his Country's Cauſe, againſt the Ambition of the Duke of *Normandy*. The Hiſtorians, who wrote in the Reigns of the *Conqueror* and his Sons, have greatly endeavout'd to blacken the Memory of *Harold*, in order to juſtify in ſome Meaſure the ambitious Pretences of the Duke. But all they have ſaid againſt this laſt of the *Saxon* Kings, tends only to the Breach of his Oath, on which Point we have ſeen what he alledged in his own Vindication. They might, upon much better Grounds, have blam'd him for his ſecret Practices, in getting Prince *Edgar* to be excluded from the Throne, who alone had a Right to it. But the Duke's Friends having taken care to be ſilent on that Head, ſince whatever they had laid to *Harold*'s Charge on that Score, would have reflected as ſtrongly upon the Duke. Be this as it will, it may be ſaid *Harold* would have been more worthy of the Crown, had he been leſs forward to obtain it. He gain'd the Love and Eſteem of the *Engliſh* whilſt he was but a private Man, and he acted nothing during his ſhort Reign *1, which tended to leſſen their Affections. He fought within the Space of a few Days, two great Battles, with very dif- Harold's *Character.*

* An antient Manuſcript in the *Cottonian* Library relates, that the King's Body was hard to be known by reaſon of its being cover'd with Wounds, but was at laſt diſcover'd by one who had been his Miſtreſs, by the means of certain private Marks known only to herſelf. The Duke ſent the Body to his Mother without any Ranſom, tho' ſhe is ſaid to have offer'd him its weight in Gold. But tho' all others agree that *Harold* fell in this Battle, yet *Knighton* from *Giraldus Cambrienſis* aſſerts he was not ſlain, but eſcaping retir'd to a Cell near St. *John*'s Church in *Cheſter*, and died there an Anchoret, as was own'd by himſelf in his laſt Confeſſion when he lay a dying. In Memory whereof they ſhow'd his Tomb when *Knighton* wrote.

*1 Of nine Months and nine Days.

ferent Succeſs. In the firſt, his Conduct and Valour procur'd him a ſignal Victory over the King of *Norway*; and his unhappy Succeſs in the laſt was entirely owing to his Ill-Fortune. As for his other perſonal Qualities, he was naturally Honeſt, Obliging, Affable, exceeding Generous, and in a word, was endow'd with all the Virtues which go to the forming a Great Prince.

His Iſſue. *Harold* had been twice married. By his firſt Wife, whoſe Name is not known, he had three Sons, *Edmund*, *Goodwin* and *Magnus*, who retir'd into *Ireland* after the Death of their Father. By his ſecond Wife, *Algitha*, Siſter to *Morcar* and *Edwin*, he had a Son call'd *Wolf*, who was but a Child at the Time of the Battle of *Haſtings*, and was afterwards knighted by *William Rufus*; And alſo two Daughters: *Gunilda* the eldeſt falling blind, paſs'd her Days in a Nunnery. The youngeſt was married to *Waldemar* King of *Ruſſia*, by whom ſhe had a Daughter, who was Wife to *Waldemar* King of *Denmark* *.

Thus ended in *England* the Empire of the *Anglo-Saxons*, which began above ſix Hundred Years before in the Perſon of *Hengiſt* the firſt King of *Kent*. We ſhall ſee in the following Book how *England* fell under the Dominion of the *Normans*.

* *Tyrrel* ſays, (from *Speed*) ſhe was Mother to *Waldemar* the firſt King of *Denmark* of that Name. From whom the *Daniſh* Kings for many Ages after ſucceeded.



The STATE *of the* CHURCH, *from the Reign of* ETHELRED II. *to the* Norman *Conqueſt; that is, from* 979, *to* 1066.

AFTER having ſeen what paſs'd in *England* from the Beginning of the Reign of *Ethelred* II. to the End of the Monarchy of the *Saxons*, one can't expect that this Period ſhould afford much Matter for an *Eccleſiaſtical* Hiſtory: This Age may be term'd the Age of Ignorance, with reſpect to all *Europe* in general, but more eſpecially with regard to *England* in particular: If there was Occaſion, it would be no hard Matter to aſſign the Cauſes of this univerſal Ignorance, not only in this Kingdom, but in all the other *Chriſtian* States. But 'twill be ſufficient to my Purpoſe to alledge one, which was peculiar to *England*; I mean the Wars the Kingdom was inceſſantly infeſted with. The Arms of the *Pagans*, which carried all before them, ſcarce left the *Engliſh* the Liberty of profeſſing their Religion, and conſequently, our Knowledge of the Affairs of the *Church* in thoſe Days muſt be *State of the Church.*

be very imperfect. Accordingly, I shall confine what I have to say on this Subject to a few Heads, concerning the *Doctrines*, *Councils*, some Particulars relating to certain *Sees*, and the *Persons* that were the most distinguish'd among the *Clergy*.

The Sense of the Church of England *relating to the* Eucharist.

What Attempts soever have been made at sundry Times to prove the Antiquity of *Transubstantiation*, it could never be made out that it was the Doctrine of the *Church of England*, before the Time I am speaking of. On the contrary, it evidently appears from the *Homilies* or *Sermons* which were read in Churches for the Instruction of the People, that the *Church* in those Days was far enough from believing it. There is still extant a Translation of these *Homilies* *, attributed to *Elfric*, who lived under *Ethelred* II. from whence any one may be convinced, that the then *Church of England* was of a quite contrary Opinion. But that the *Reader* may judge for himself, it will not be amiss to lay before him an Extract of one of these *Homilies* relating to this Subject.

Extract of a Saxon Homily *on this Subject.*

" There is a great Difference between the invisible Vir-
" tue of this *Sacrament*, and what it appears to us in the
" Qualities of its own Nature. In its own Nature 'tis
" corruptible Bread and Wine, but by Virtue of the di-
" vine Institution, 'tis truly the Body and Blood of our
" Lord Jesus Christ after Consecration, not in a *Corporeal*
" but *Spiritual* Manner. The Body in which Jesus
" Christ suffer'd, and the *Eucharistical Body* are widely
" different. The first was born of the *blessed Virgin*, and
" consisted of Blood, Bones, Nerves, Limbs, animated
" with a rational Soul. But the Body which we call *Eu-*
" *charistical*, is made up of several Grains of Wheat.
" It has neither Blood, Bone, Nerve, Limb, nor Soul
" in it. We are therefore not to form any *Corporeal Idea*
" of it, but to understand it wholly in a *spiritual Sense*.
" In the *Eucharist*, whatever repairs our Nature, and
" forms

* These *Homilies* are in *Latin* stil'd *Sermones Catholici*: the Translation of them into *Old English* is preserv'd in the *Bodleian Library*, and in that of *Bennet College* in *Cambridge*.

" forms us to a better Life, proceeds entirely from a *My-*
" *ſtick* Virtue, and a *Spiritual* Operation. For this Rea-
" ſon the *Euchariſt* is call'd a *Sacrament*, becauſe one thing
" appears to our *Senſes*, and another to our *Underſtand-*
" *ing*. What in the *Sacrament* is the Object of Sight,
" has a *Corporeal* Figure: But what is repreſented to our
" Underſtanding has a *Spiritual* Force and Efficacy. More-
" over the Body of Chriſt, which ſuffer'd and roſe
" from the *Dead*, is Eternal and Impaſſible, and no more
" ſubject to Decay or Death; whereas the *Euchariſt* is
" not Eternal but Corruptible, ſubject to the Force of
" Time, and diviſible into many Parts. 'Tis ground
" with the Teeth, and paſſes through the *common Chan-*
" *nels* of the Body; but notwithſtanding the *Spiritual* Ef-
" ficacy of it remains in every Part. A great many Per-
" ſons receive this *Holy Body* or *Euchariſt*, and yet the
" Multitude of Receivers weakens not the Force of the
" Operation, the Virtue of the *Sacrament* being lodg'd in
" every Part of what is conſecrated, the leaſt Part having
" as much Efficacy as the greateſt. The Reaſon is, be-
" cauſe the Virtue does not operate in Proportion to the
" *Corporeal Magnitude*, but by the Means of the *Divine*
" *Inſtitution*.

" The *Sacrament* is a *Type* and a *Pledge*, but the *Body*
" of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt is the *Truth* and *Reality* of
" the Repreſentation. God has vouchſafed to give us this
" *Pledge* or *Earneſt*, till we come to the Truth it ſelf, and
" then the *Pledge* will diſappear. For, as hath been ob-
" ſerv'd, *the Holy Euchariſt is the Body of Jeſus Chriſt not*
" *corporeally but ſpiritually* *. The Apoſtle St. *Paul*, ſpeak-
" ing of the *Iſraelites*, has theſe Words *1: *I would* *1 1 Cor. 1.
" *not that you ſhould be ignorant, how that all our Fathers*
" *were under the Cloud, and paſſed through the Sea; and*
" *were all baptized unto* Moſes, *in the Cloud and in the*
" *Sea; and did all eat the ſame ſpiritual Meat; and did*
" *all drink the ſame ſpiritual Drink: For they drank of*
" *the ſpiritual Rock that followed them, and that Rock*
" *was*

* Non *Corporaliter* ſed *Spiritualiter*.

" *was Christ.* That Rock, from whence the Water
" flow'd, was not Christ in Reality, but a *Type* and *Re-*
" *presentation* of Jesus Christ, who made this gracious De-
" claration to all the *Faithful*; *If any Man thirst, let him*
" *come to me and drink; and out of his Belly shall flow*
" *Rivers of living Water* *. By this he understood the
" *Holy Ghost*, which those that believ'd on him should re-
" ceive. The Apostle declares, that *the Children of Isra-*
" *el*, who were in the *Wilderness*, *eat the same spiritual*
" *Meat, and drank the same spiritual Drink*, because the
" *Manna*, with which they were supported forty Years
" together, and the Water which flow'd from the Rock,
" were *Types* of the *Body* and *Blood* of Jesus Christ, which
" are daily offer'd in the *Church*. That *Manna* and that
" *Water* were the same, which we now offer, not *Cor-*
" *poreally* but *Spiritually*. To understand this, observe
" that our Lord Jesus Christ, before his Passion, conse-
" crated the *Bread* and *Wine* into the *Sacrament* of the
" *Eucharist*, and said, *This is my Body*; *This is my Blood.*
" Although his *Passion* was not over when he pronounc'd
" these Words, yet by a *Mystical Operation*, he chang'd
" the *Bread* into his *Body*, and the *Wine* into his *Blood*,
" just as he had done in the *Wilderness* before his *Incarna-*
" *tion*, when he turn'd the *Manna* into his *Flesh*, and the
" *Water* that flow'd from the Rock, into his own
" *Blood.*

* *John* vii. 38.

As this Explanation is a clear Evidence, that at the Time this *Homily* was penn'd, the *Church of England* believ'd not *Transubstantiation*, so it is no less manifest, that *Elfric*, who translated it into *Latin*, was of the same Opinion with the Author. 'Tis true, there is some Dispute about the Person of the Translator. Some will have him to be *Elfric* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. Others say it was *Elfric* the Grammarian, sirnam'd *Putta*, who was Archbishop of *York*. But which of the two soever it was, they both liv'd in the Reign of *Ethelred* II. and neither of them was ever accus'd of *Heterodoxy*. But since it may be objected, that *Elfric* was not of the same Opinion with the Author, whom he translated, though that

Anglia Sacra, p. 1. p. 125.

that is not very likely, the contrary is evident from the following Words of the ſame *Elfric*, in one of his Letters to the *Clergy*. *The Sacrifice of the Euchariſt is not the Body in which our Saviour ſuffered for us, nor the Blood he ſhed for our Sakes; but 'tis the ſame Body and the ſame Blood ſpiritually, juſt as the Manna was which fell from Heaven, and the Water which flow'd from the Rock.* 'Tis therefore moſt certain, from the Teſtimony of a Prelate, who was at the Head of the *Church of England*, that the Doctrine of *Tranſubſtantiation* was not introduced into that Church in the Time of *Ethelred* II, who aſcended the Throne in 979. There is no way to evade the Force of this Proof, but by aſſerting the *Homily* beforementioned to be all a Forgery. But this is much eaſier ſaid than prov'd.

Invocation of the Virgin Mary, *and of the* Saints. Spelman Council. Vol. I.

It is not the ſame with regard to the Invocation of the *bleſſed Virgin*, and of the *Saints* in Glory, ſince on the contrary we find it was practis'd in *England* in this very *Century*. This is manifeſt from *Canute the Great*'s Charter to the Abby of *Glaſſenbury*, wherein there is mention made of the *bleſſed Virgin*, and all the other *Saints*. But as the Authority of the *Charters* of thoſe Days is not equally admitted on all Hands, the ſame Thing may be proved from a publick *Litany* then read in the Church. Here we ſee that after the Invocation of the *Holy Trinity*, theſe Words are thrice repeated, *O Holy Mary, pray for us!* After which the *Angels* and *Saints* were addreſſed to [by Name.] It muſt be remarked, that when this Practice was firſt introduced, the Application to the *bleſſed Virgin* and *Saints* was not ſo direct; *May the Holy Virgin, the Mother of God, and all the Saints intercede for us.* Theſe are the Words in the publick *Office* of *Canonical Hours* us'd by the *Anglo-Saxons* *. This *Office*, which is in *Latin*, af-

* *Sancta Dei Genetrix Virgo Maria & omnes Sancti Dei intercedant pro nobis peccatoribus ad Dominum, ut mereamur ab eo adjuvari & Salvari, qui vivis & regnas Deus.* Now this amounts to no more than a wiſh for their Interceſſion, and is far from a direct Invocation. This *Office* is tranſlated by Mr. *Elſtob*. Immediate Addreſs, as far as we can diſcover, did not prevail in *England* till the

fords this Remark, that altho' the *Lessons*, *Prayers*, *Psalms*, *Lord's Prayer* and *Creed* are in the same Tongue, yet at the End of each *Article* or *Verse*, there follows a *Saxon* Translation in a *Paraphrastical* way, that the People might understand what was said.

Elfric's Canons.

Among the *Canons*, which go under the Name of *Elfric*, of whom I have already spoken, and who lived in the Reign of *Ethelred* II, the XXXIII obliges Priests to have by them two Sorts of *Consecrated Oil*, one for Children, and another for the Sick, and enjoins that the Sick should be always anointed upon their Beds, and that they should confess themselves before the Ceremony of Anointing pass'd upon them, which no Priest was to presume to perform till desir'd by the sick Person. Whence it may be inferred, that they did not stay till the Sick were in their last Agonies, before they administred the *Extreme Unction*.

Extreme Unction.

In the XXXIII, the four first *General Councils* * are put upon the same Foot with the four *Gospels*; but those of latter Ages are not of so great Authority. Hence 'tis evident that the Author of these *Canons* did not think all the *General Councils* were infallible. Had he been of this Opinion, he would not have given a greater Authority to the four first than to the other *Councils* *1.

From the Beginning of the Reign of *Ethelred* II, to the *Norman Conquest*, the *Ecclesiastical* History of *England* furnishes us but with two *Councils*. In all appearance, the Wars with the *Danes* prevented the Bishops from coming together oftner, or rather were the Reason that the Acts of these *Conventions* are lost. Both these *Councils* *2, one

the tenth *Century*: At which Time in the *Homily* of the *Assumption* of the *Blessed Virgin* there is a direct Prayer to the *blessed Virgin* to intercede for them, *Coll. Eccl. Hist.* p. 214.

* *Nice*, *Constantinople*, *Ephesus*, and *Chalcedon*.

*1 This is directly opposite to the Doctrine of the Modern *Church of Rome*, which pays the same Submission to the Decrees of the *Council* of *Trent* as of *Nice*, and reckons the *Church* in all Ages alike Infallible.

*2 They were made up of *Seculars* as well as *Ecclesiasticks*, and the *Constitution* pass'd there related both to *Church* and State; *Coll. Eccl. Hist. p.* 208.

one at *Engſham* and the other at *Haba* were conven'd, whilſt *Elphegus* was Archbiſhop. The moſt remarkable *Canons* are as follow.

The Synod *of* Engſham. Spel. Com. Tom. I. *p.* 515.

In the *Council* of *Engſham*, the IId *Canon* enjoins the *Celibacy* of the *Clergy*.

The VIIth forbids all Perſons to do any wrong to the Church, or to eject a *Clergyman* out of his *Benefice* without the Conſent of the Biſhop.

By the XVIIth every *Friday* was to be a *Faſt*, unleſs it fell upon a *Holiday*.

XXth enjoins frequent *Confeſſions*, and the People are order'd to receive the *Sacrament* three times at leaſt, in a Year.

Synod *of* Haba.

The *Council of Haba* has but one *Canon* worth Notice. By the Second, every Chriſtian was obliged to faſt three Days with Bread and Water, before the Feaſt of St. *Michael*, and to diſtribute among the Poor what he ſhould have eaten in theſe three Days.

This is all that is worth remarking in theſe two *Synods*. But to ſupply the want of *Councils*, we have the *Eccleſiaſtical* Laws of *Canute the Great*, and *Edward the Confeſſor*, ſome of which I ſhall here lay down, to ſhow the great Regard theſe two Princes had for the *Clergy*. The following ones are *Canute*'s *.

Canute's Eccleſiaſtical *Laws*.

The IV enjoins all Chriſtians to pay great Reſpect to the *Clergy*, becauſe their *Sacerdotal Functions* are extremely beneficial to the People.

By the Vth, if a Prieſt was accuſed of any Crime, he had the Liberty of purging himſelf by ſaying *Maſs*, and receiving the *Euchariſt*.

The XIIth recommends *Celibacy* to the *Clergy*, and ranks them among the *Thanes* of the ſecond Claſs, that is, among the *Gentry* *1.

* In the Preamble, it is ſaid theſe Laws were drawn up at *Wincheſter* by the Advice of the *Wiſe Men* of the Nation, that is, the *Prelates* and *Nobles*.

*1 This in Dr. *Wilkins* is the VIth. The Law ſays, if a Prieſt abſtains from a Woman, may God have mercy upon him, and let him have the worldly Honour of a *Thane*. Wilkins, *p.* 129. *c.* 6.

The XXth ordains, that at Funerals the *Dues* ſhall be paid upon the breaking up of the Ground; and that the *Dues* ſhall be paid to the Pariſh the Deceas'd belonged to, tho' he was buried elſewhere.

The XXIId enjoins the obſervance of *Sunday* from *Saturday* three a Clock in the Afternoon, till *Monday* break of Day *.

* See Vol. I. p. 427.

The XXIIId determines the Times of *Faſting*, and places the *Vigils* of the Feſtivals of the *Bleſſed Virgin* and of the *Apoſtles* among the *Faſts*.

There are ſeveral others, relating to the Payment of *Tythes* and *Peter-Pence*, againſt the Violation of the Privileges of the *Clergy* and the like, in favour of the *Church*.

It is likewiſe decreed by theſe Laws, That every Chriſtian ſhould learn the *Lord's Prayer*, and the *Apoſtles Creed*, and unleſs they do ſo, were neither allowed to ſtand *Godfather*, to receive the *Communion*, nor to have *Chriſtian Burial*.

Eccleſiaſtical *Laws of* Edward, Spelman, p. 625.

The *Eccleſiaſtical* Laws of *Edward the Confeſſor* run chiefly upon the Protection of the *Church* and *Clergy*.

The Iſt forbids the moleſting a *Clergyman*, contrary to the *Tenour* of the Privileges of the *Church*.

The IId appoints certain Days, whereon all Proceedings in the *Courts of Juſtice* were to ceaſe.

By the IIId the *Church*'s Cauſes are to be try'd firſt.

The IVth firmly eſtabliſhes the Immunities of thoſe who in any wiſe depend on the *Church*, and ordains that they ſhall not be oblig'd to anſwer any *Plea*, *&c.* except in the *Eccleſiaſtical* Court.

The Vth confirms the Privilege of *Sanctuary* to *Churches*, and extends it even to Prieſts Houſes.

By the VIth, If any Perſon broke in upon the Privileges of the Church, he had no way to get off, but by ſubmitting to the *Sentence* of the Biſhop.

The VIIth orders the punctual Payment of *Tythes*, and ſets forth what is to be paid.

The IXth determines the Circumſtances relating to the *Tryal Ordeal*.

The XIIth ſettles the *Fine* of *Manbote*, or the Sum to be paid to the Lord for killing any of his *Vaſſals* or *Slaves*: The King's and the Archbiſhop's *Manbote* is fix'd at the ſame Sum.

By the XIIIth all *found* Treaſure belongs to the King, unleſs it is found in a *Church* or *Church-yard*; then the Gold is the King's, and the Silver the *Church*'s *.

It is viſible throughout theſe Laws, that the *Clergy* took care of themſelves, when they had to do with *Devout* and *Eaſy* Princes, or ſuch as ſtood in need of their Intereſt.

Elections of Biſhops and Abbots.

But notwithſtanding the great Condeſcenſion of the *Saxon* Kings towards the *Clergy*, they could not retain the Privilege of chuſing their Biſhops and Abbots. Whilſt the *Prelates* confin'd themſelves within the Bounds of their *Paſtoral Functions*, and medled not with *Civil* Matters, the Power of Electing was left to the *Chapters*. But when the Biſhops were become Rich and Popular, and began to interpoſe in State-Affairs, by reaſon of the *Fiefs* they were in poſſeſſion of, it was a Matter of great Conſequence to the Kings, to have ſuch Biſhops and Abbots as were in their Intereſt, or at leaſt, were oblig'd to them for their Preferments. Accordingly, the Kings began to interpoſe in Elections, by way of Canvaſing, or Recommendation, and very often by refuſing to put in Poſſeſſion of the *Fiefs* belonging to the Church or Abby, ſuch Prelates and Abbots as they did not like. In fine, the Authority of the Court by Degrees prevail'd ſo, that in the time of *Ethelred* II, the *Monks* had entirely loſt the Privilege of chuſing their Abbots, as appears from *Ingulphus*. *In thoſe Days*, ſays he, *the Monks and Abbots ſeldom reſorted to Court. But ever ſince the Kings have diſpoſed of the Abbies, the Monks have made Intereſt with the Courtiers, which ſometimes coſt them very dear.* This Hiſtorian loudly complains of this Abuſe, though he himſelf was inſtall'd in the Abby of *Croyland*

Ingulph. p. 63.

* The Original Law in Dr. *Wilkins*, p. 199. *c.* 14. ſays, the Gold is all the King's, and half the Silver, and the other half goes to the Church.

Croyland by the same Method, that is, by the sole Will and Pleasure of *William the Conqueror*.

Translations of Sees.

There were but two Removals of Bishops *Sees* within the Period we have gone through. The *See* of *Kirton* in *Wessex* * was remov'd to *Exeter* *1, and the *See* of *Lindisfarn* in *Northumberland* to *Durham*. *Aldhun* Bishop of *Lindisfarn*, to secure himself from the Incursions of the *Danes*, went and resided at *Durham*, carrying with him the *Relicks* of St. *Cuthbert*. He built a *Cathedral*, and fix'd his *See* there, where it has remain'd to this Day *2.

Dunelm.

The Bishops of Landaff *first consecrated by the* Archbishop *of* Canterbury.

In 981, the *Archiepiscopal See* of *Canterbury* acquir'd a new Jurisdiction in *Wales*. *Gucan*, a *Welsh* Priest, being chosen Bishop of *Landaff*, and consecrated by Archbishop *Dunstan*, this *Precedent* was followed by his Successors, who from that time own'd the Archbishop of *Canterbury* for their *Metropolitan*. Some infer from hence, that all the *British* Bishops from thenceforward own'd the Superiority of the *Church of Rome*. But this Consequence cannot be true. It is certain, the Bishops of St. *Davids* all along exercis'd the *Archiepiscopal Functions* in *Wales*, till the time of *Henry* I, and that without the Ornament of the *Pall*, the Mark of Submission to the Pope *3.

As the Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York* made the greatest Figure amongst the *English* Prelates, during the last Peri-

* *Crediton* or *Kirton* stands on the *Creden* in *Devonshire*; there are now no Footsteps of its having been a Bishop's *See*, but a great Meadow, call'd *My Lord's Meadow*.

*1 This City stands on the River call'd *Isc* by the *Britons*, and *Ex* by the *Saxons*, whence the Names *Isca* and *Exan-ceſter*. The *Welsh* call it to this Day *Caeniſc*. It was made a Bishop's *See* by *Edward the Confessor*, in 1048. *Leofric* a *Burgundian* was the first Bishop. Here are fifteen Churches. The Organ in the Cathedral is the largest in *England*, the greatest Pipe being 15 Inches diameter. The City is about a Mile and half in Compass.

*2 *Durham* being almost surrounded with the River *Were*, was called by the *Saxons*, *Dunholme*, *Dun* signifying a Hill (the City being seated on one) and *Holme*, that is, a River Island; it was built about the Year 995.

*3 *See* Giraldus Cambrensis de jure & Statu Menevensis Ecclesiæ, p. 518, &c. Anglia Sacra, P. II. Macra de concord, &c. l. 1. c. 7. Ann 983.

Period of the *Saxon* Monarchy, it will not be amiſs briefly to carry down the Succeſſion to each of theſe *Sees*. This will be of Service towards clearing up what has been already, or what ſhall be hereafter, related of the Affairs of the Church.

Succeſſion of the Archbiſhops of Canterbury.

Ethelgar, *Dunſtan*'s Succeſſor, was Archbiſhop but one Year and three Months, and was ſucceeded by *Siricius*. This Prelate is blam'd by Hiſtorians, for adviſing *Ethelred* to buy his Peace of the *Danes*, which ſerv'd only as a Bait to allure them hither the more. But perhaps they who exclaim againſt him the moſt, would have given the ſame Advice, had they been in his Place. *Elfric*, the Tranſlator of the *Saxon Homilies*, mentioned before, ſucceeded him in 995, and was followed in 1006, by *Elphegus*, who was murdered by the Hands of the *Danes*. *Lanfranc*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in the *Conqueror*'s Time, doubted very much whether *Elphegus* might properly be ſaid to be a *Martyr*, ſince he was not maſſacred on account of Religion, but becauſe he would not conſent his People ſhould be tax'd to pay his Ranſom. *Anſelm*, Abbot of *Bec*, whom he conſulted on this Occaſion, told him, that he who choſe to die rather than to do an unjuſt Thing, received by his Death the Crown of *Martyrdom*. *Livingus* ſucceeded *Elphegus* in 1013. He was kept Priſoner for ſome Time by the *Danes*, and after he was ſet at Liberty, retir'd into *France*, till the Storm was over. Afterwards he returned to his *See*, and died in 1020. *Egelnoth*, call'd *the Good*, was his Succeſſor. In the Time of theſe two Archbiſhops, St. *Auguſtin*'s Monaſtery was very much degenerated, by the libertine Lives of the Monks, who indeed wore the *Religious Habit*, but with little obſervance of the *Rule*. The Cauſe of this Alteration was, the maſſacring all the Monks, except four, when *Canterbury* was taken by the *Danes*. The *Secular Clergy*, who were taken in to fill up the Vacancy, were willing to enjoy the Revenues and Privileges of the Monaſtery, but not to be ty'd up to the *Rule* obſerv'd there before. They took greater Liberties than the old Monks, and gave the Title of *Dane* to their *Superior*, inſtead of

Osbern. Hoveden. Eadmer.

A great Change in St. Auguſtin's *Monaſtery.*

that

that of *Abbot*, which remained till the time of Archbishop *Lanfranc*, who changed it into *Prior*. But to return to *Egelnoth*: This Prelate rais'd the *See* of *Canterbury* to its former Lustre, being supported by *Canute the Great*, with whom he was greatly in Favour *. He was succeeded by *Edsius*, who had been King *Harold*'s Chaplain *1. He governed the Church till the Year 1050, either by himself, whilst his Health permitted, or by a *Chorepiscopus*, when disabled by Sickness. This *Chorepiscopus*, who exercis'd all the *Archiepiscopal Functions*, resided at St. *Martins in the Fields* *2. *Robert*, a *Norman* Monk, whom *Edward the Confessor* had made Bishop of *London*, was by him promoted to the *See* of *Canterbury* after *Edsius*. He was driven from thence in the Manner before related, and banish'd the Kingdom by an *Assembly-General*, and *Stigand* Bishop of *Winchester* plac'd in his room. *Robert* appealed to the Pope against these Proceedings; but *Stigand*, without troubling himself about it, or staying for the Pope's Determination, who suspended him, got himself consecrated. But notwithstanding his Suspension, and altho' he had never applied to *Rome* for the *Pall*, he went on in his *Metropolitical Functions*, till he was depos'd in *William the Conqueror*'s Time *3. It is very probable, that in those Days, the *English* were not of Opinion, that the Archbishops Elect might not exercise their Functions till the Pope was pleas'd to impower them, or that the bare Suspension

Stigand, *tho' suspended and without the Pall, exercises the Functions of* Archbishop.

* *Egelnoth*, who was Archbishop 17 Years, refused to crown King *Harold*, telling him he was enjoin'd by *Canute* his Father to set the Crown upon none but the Issue of Queen *Emma*. Then laying the Crown on the Altar, he denounced an Imprecation against any Bishop that should venture to perform the Ceremony. *Harpsfield. Hist. Eccl. Sac.* XI. *c.* 10. This, if true, is another Argument against *Canute*'s Will. See *p.* 46.

*1 *Edsius* crowned or anointed King *Edward the Confessor*, on *Easter-Day*, and then preach'd upon the Occasion. *Sax. Ann.* MLXII. This is the first *Coronation-Sermon* we meet with.

*2 The Archbishops formerly had a *Chorepiscopus*, or Assistant; but this Office was extinguished by *Lanfranc*. *Coll. Eccl. Hist. p.* 213.

*3 *Malmsbury* says, he procur'd a *Pall* five Years after from *Benet* the *Antipope*. *De Gest. Pontif. l.* 3.

Suſpenſion of the Pope was ſufficient to put a Stop to their acting as *Primates*.

Succeſſion of the Archbiſhops of York.

The Succeſſion of the Archbiſhops of *York* was as follows. After the Death of *Oſwald* *, ſpoken of in Book IV, *Adulph* ſucceeded him in 993, and govern'd this Church 'till 1002, when by his Death he made room for *Wulſtan* II, who, after 21 Years, was ſucceeded by *Elfric Putta*, ſirnam'd the *Grammarian*, thought by ſome to be the Author of the Tranſlation of the *Saxon Homilies*. To him ſucceeded *Kinſius* *1 in 1050, after whom came *Aldred*, who was alive at the *Conqueſt*.

Wulſtan *Biſhop of* Worceſter.

Among the Biſhops of Note in thoſe Days, *Wulfſtan* Biſhop of *Worceſter* was a Perſon of an extraordinary Character in ſome Mens Opinion, though *Lanfranc* thought him unqualified for the Office of a Biſhop, for his Stupidity and want of Learning. But this is not the firſt time that weak Men have been put upon us for *Saints*. This Prelate having been conſecrated by *Aldred* Archbiſhop of *York*, made his Profeſſion of *Canonical* Obedience to *Stigand* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, though ſuſpended by the Pope. To account for this diſregard of the Pope's Suſpenſion, 'tis pretended, the Submiſſion was made to the *See* of *Canterbury*, and not to the Perſon of *Stigand*: But when ſuch like Aſſertions are advanc'd, they ſhould be backed with ſome Authorities, whereas this here is deſtitute of all. Creſſy, p. 984.

Edmund *Biſhop of* Durham.

Edmund Biſhop of *Durham* was remarkable for the Manner of his Election. The *Chapter* of *Durham* being met to elect a Biſhop, but not being able to agree upon their Man, *Edmund*, a Prieſt of that Church, ſaid jeſtingly, that ſince they were at ſo great a Loſs who to chooſe, they had as good take him and make him Biſhop. As

* He was buried at St. *Mary*'s in *Worceſter*.

*1 Chaplain to *Edward the Confeſſor*; *Stubs* ſays, he ordained one *Magſues* Biſhop of *Glaſcow*, and *John* his Succeſſor, and received an Acknowledgment of his Metropolitical Juriſdiction in writing, which was loſt with many other Inſtruments, when *York* was ſet on Fire by the *Normans* ſoon after the *Conqueſt*. *Stubs Act. Pontif. Eborac.* p. 1700.

Miracles were then much in Vogue, the *Chapter* looked upon this Motion as a *divine impulse*, and so unanimously agreed to elect him. He became famous for his Courage and Boldness in reprimanding Vice, even in Persons of the highest Birth and Stations.

English *Missionaries in* Sweden. Jo. Magn. l. 17. c. 19. & 20, Loccenius Hist. Succ.

We must also reckon in the Number of illustrious Persons of that Age, certain *English Ecclesiasticks*, who flourish'd in *Sweden* and *Norway*. *Olaüs Scot-Kunung*, King of *Sweden*, designing to turn Christian, desired *Ethelred* to send him over some *Missionaries* to instruct him in the Gospel. *Sigefrid* Archdeacon of *York*, and not Archbishop, as a *Swedish* Writer will have it, *Eskil*, *Gunichild*, *Rudolf*, and *Bernard*, or *David*, undertook this *Mission*. *Sigefrid* was made Bishop of *Wexia*, a City in the Province of *Smaland* in *Sweden*, and baptis'd *Olaüs*. Some say however that he received Baptism at the Hands of *Bernard*; but this is of no Moment. The greatest Part of these *Missionaries* were martyr'd by the *Pagans*, to whom they preached *.

Sax. Gram l. 10.

I have spoken elsewhere, tho' in a general Manner, of the Division of the Kingdom into *Parishes*. But seeing I am arriv'd at the End of the *Saxon* Monarchy, 'twill not be unserviceable to give a more particular Account of this Matter, with which I shall conclude all I have to say in relation to the *Anglo-Saxon Church*.

Augustin

* Though the Laziness or Ignorance of the Monks, the only Writers in those Days, we have but few Historians from *Asser* to the *Norman Conquest*. Next to *Asser* was *Ethelward*, who wrote in the Reign of *Edgar*, and liv'd till 1090, though he did not continue his Chronicle so far. He was (as he himself says) descended of the Blood Royal. His Works consist of four Books, which are published by Sir *H. Savil*. Bishop *Nicholson* says, the whole is an imperfect Translation of the *Saxon-Annals*. His Style is boisterous and obscure, and in some Places hardly Sense; and therefore but of little use, unless in settling the Reigns and Deaths of some of our *Saxon* Kings, who liv'd about his Time, about which the Copies of the *Saxon-Annals* differ. From him to the Conquest we meet with no Historians, except *Osbern*, who has wrote the Lives of St. *Dunstan* and St. *Alphage*, which are published in the first Volume of *Anglia Sacra*; and the Author of a Treatise called *Encomium Emmæ* being a short Account of the Times immediately preceding the Reign of *Edward the Confessor*.

Auguſtin, the firſt Biſhop of the *Saxons*, having receiv'd from the King of *Kent* ſome *Lands*, for the Maintenance of himſelf and the Monks he brought with him, diſpos'd of the Profits of theſe Lands, and the *Offerings* of Chriſtians as he thought fit. But becauſe he wanted Inſtructions in this Matter, he conſulted *Gregory* I, who told him, that it was the Cuſtom in the *Church of Rome*, to divide the *Offerings* into four Portions, and to diſtribute one of them for the Maintenance of the *inferior Clergy*. In the mean time, as *Auguſtin* and his Companions were Monks of the ſame *Order*, the Pope exhorted them to live together as Brethren. Thus alſo lived *Aiden* and *Finan* Biſhops of the *Northumbrians*, who were Monks as well as *Auſtin*, though of a different Order. But it can't be inferr'd from hence, that in all the *Churches*, the *Biſhop* and his *Clergy* liv'd in common, as ſome pretend. On the contrary, it ſeems to follow, from the Biſhop's being oblig'd to diſtribute the fourth Part of the Church's Revenues among the *Clergy*, that they did not live in *common*. Be this as it will, the Biſhop and *Clergy* were maintained both out of the Profits of the Lands given to the Church, and the daily *Offerings* of the People.

The Diviſion of Pariſhes, when ſettled. Coll. Eccl. Hiſt.

The Number of Chriſtians encreaſing every Day, and there being at firſt in each *Dioceſe*, which contained a whole Kingdom, but one Church, it could not but be very incommodious to many of the new Converts to reſort thither. 'Twas neceſſary therefore that others ſhould be built, and Prieſts ſent to officiate in them. Theſe Prieſts were not however fix'd upon any particular Church, but kept with the Biſhop, who ſent out ſometimes one, ſometimes another, to miniſter in the remote Churches, after which they return'd to him. In proportion therefore as Chriſtians encreas'd, new Churches were erected for the Conveniency of thoſe who liv'd at a Diſtance from the Biſhops. Theſe Churches were no more than *Chapels of Eaſe* to the principal Church, to which belonged all the *Offerings* that were made in the others. Accordingly the Prieſts at their return, put the *Offerings* they had received into the Biſhop's Hands, which ſerv'd for the Maintenance

Stilling-fleet.

of the Biſhop, and the *Clergy* that were about him. The Prieſts then at firſt had no other *Titles*, but that of belonging to a certain *Dioceſe*: for theſe firſt *Rural Churches* are not to be conſidered as diſtinct *Pariſhes*, but as *Chapels* belonging to the *Cathedral*.

Theſe *Country Churches* were not at firſt very numerous. The Reaſon is, becauſe the Lords who had large Eſtates, were the only Perſons that founded them, and generally they were contented with building one ſingle Church for the Uſe of their *Vaſſals*. The Number of Chriſtians being exceedingly encreas'd, it was become neceſſary to provide for the conſtant Reſidence of a Prieſt in each of theſe Churches. But as the *Great Men*, as well as the *People*, did not care to have a new Prieſt at every turn, the Biſhops were willing to continue the ſame to them, and from this Time *Pariſhes* may properly be ſaid to commence. However, leſt the Prieſts, thus fix'd to one *Cure*, ſhould be unmindful of their Dependance on the *Cathedral Church*, the Biſhops reſerv'd in their own Hands the Revenues and Oblations theſe Churches were endowed with. This gave the Founders ſome uneaſineſs. They could not bear to ſee the Prieſt, who did all the Duty, have ſo ſmall a Share of their Donations. By this means the Zeal of erecting new Churches beginning to abate, at a Time when there was moſt need of them, the Biſhops thought fit to hold their Hands a little. To this Purpoſe they compounded with thoſe who had a Mind to build Churches, and were ſatisfied with reſerving to the *Cathedral*, a third or fourth Part of the Incomes, with the Right of *Baptiſm* and *Burial*. This Obſtacle being removed, theſe private *Oratories* became very numerous, almoſt every great Man building one for the Conveniency of himſelf and his Vaſſals. Moreover, when any Lord alienated ſome Part of his Eſtate, the Purchaſers ſeldom fail'd of erecting a Church in his new Purchaſe. On the other Hand, the Biſhops being greatly inriched by the *Grants* made to their Churches, built Churches on their *Lands*, as well for the Conveniency of their *Tenants*, as to imitate the *Nobles*, among whom they themſelves began to be ranked. By theſe Means the *rural*

Wharton's *Defence of Pluralities*, p. 81.

Churches abounding every where, there was no Neceſſity of ſending Prieſts from Place to Place, ſince each Church, as was before obſerved, had one of its own. And thus by Degrees the *Parochial* Diviſion was ſettled. However, the Biſhops were a long Time in Poſſeſſion of the *Tithes* and *Oblations*, till at length, in order to quicken more and more the Zeal of Chriſtians, they removed this Obſtruction to Building and Endowing of Churches. They not only left to the *Parochial* Prieſts the Revenues the Founders were pleas'd to aſſign, or at leaſt the much greater Part, but alſo granted them the Power of adminiſtring the *Sacraments* in their reſpective Churches. This is the Riſe and Progreſs of the *Parochial* Diviſion, which was almoſt quite ſettled in the Reign of *Edgar*, or perhaps of *Canute the Great*. Between that Time and the Reign of *Edward the Confeſſor*, there were ſome farther Subdiviſions; but in all Appearance there were very few new ones after the *Norman Conqueſt*. At leaſt we find by ſeveral *Charters* of the latter *Saxon* Kings, that the Pariſhes of *Cambridgeſhire*, *Huntingtonſhire* and *Lincolnſhire*, were the ſame as at preſent. Whence it may be preſum'd the Pariſhes of the other *Counties* agreed with our Modern Diviſion *.

Monaſt. Angl. *under* Ely, Croyland, &c.

* As may be farther ſeen from *Domes-Day* Book, where the Pariſhes are very near the ſame as at this Day.

The End of Book V.

A DIS-



A

DISSERTATION

ON THE

GOVERNMENT, LAWS, CUSTOMS, MANNERS, and LANGUAGE, of the *ANGLO-SAXONS.*

Particularly,

The ORIGIN, NATURE, and PRIVILEGES of their WITTENA-GEMOT, or PARLIAMENT.

Wherein are several Things absolutely necessary for the Understanding the present *Customs* and *Laws* of *England.*

BY

Mr. DE RARIN THOYRAS.

Done into *English*, and illustrated with Notes by *N. TINDAL*, M. A.

——juvat antiquos exquirere Fontes.

LONDON:

Printed in the Year MDCCXXX.

The HEADS or principal Matters contain'd in the following DISSERTATION.

THE Nature of the Government eſtabliſh'd in England *by the* Anglo-Saxons.

The Degrees *and* Orders *of Men among the* Anglo-Saxons *from the* King *to the* Slave.

Their Courts of Juſtice, *viz.* Tithing-Court, Hundred-Court, *Trithing-Court, County-Court, but eſpecially the* Great Court of England, *or the* Wittena-Gemot.

The Original *of the* Wittena-Gemot, *or* Parliament; *who were the Members of it; whether the* Commons *originally ſat in* Parliament?

The Privileges *of the* Wittena-Gemot, *and Authority in* Church-Affairs.

The Power *and* Prerogative *of the* KING.

The Succeſſion *to the* CROWN; *the Arguments for and againſt its being* Hereditary.

The Laws *of the* Anglo-Saxons. *The* Ordeal Tryal, Single Combat, *and* Corſned, *&c.*

The Manners, Cuſtoms, Religion and Language *of the* Anglo-Saxons.

A DIS-

A

DISSERTATION

ON THE

Government, Laws, Manners, Customs, and *Language* of the ANGLO SAXONS.

THE Revolution that happened in *Europe* about the Beginning of the fifth *Century*, is one of the most remarkable Events in History. The *Roman Empire*, which was almost of the same extent with the known World, was divided at that Time in two Parts, one containing the *Eastern*, the other the *Western* Provinces. The *Western* Empire was so harrass'd by the continual Inroads of the *Northern* Nations, that having lost by Degrees all its Provinces, it was reduc'd to nothing, and the very Name of *Emperor of the West*, vanished with his Dominions. This great Revolution spread a new Face of Things over *Europe*, by introducing new Inhabitants, who raising new Kingdoms out of the Ruins of the *Roman* Empire, brought in at the same Time new Laws and Customs in the conquer'd Countries. *Spain* was peopled with Colonies of *Wisigoths*, *Catti*, *Alans*, and *Suevi*. The *Gauls* were overwhelm'd with a Deluge of *Wisigoths*, *Burgundians*, *and Franci*.

The greatest Parts of the Laws *in* Europe *came from the* North.

Francs. *Italy* was ſo frequently invaded by the *Heruli*, *Oſtrogoths*, and *Lombards*, that the Natives were ſo far from being ſuperior in Number, that they made no Figure at all. The *Saxons*, *Suevi*, and *Batavi*, ſpread themſelves over all *Germany*, and became Maſters of that vaſt Tract of Land. In fine, *Great-Britain* was ſo over-run with *Saxons*, *Angles*, and *Jutes*, that hardly can we trace out any Remains of the *antient Britons*. 'Twas very natural for theſe *Conquerors* to eſtabliſh in their new erected Kingdoms their own Country Cuſtoms. And therefore it may be laid down for certain, that the *Laws* now in Force throughout the greateſt Part of *Europe*, are derived from the Laws theſe antient Conquerors brought with them from the *North*. This might be eaſily made out with relation to all the Countries that had any Part in this great *Revolution*. But at preſent I ſhall confine my ſelf to *England* alone. By what I am going to ſay, all ſuch as have any Knowledge of the *Engliſh Conſtitution*, will eaſily be convinc'd, that the *Cuſtoms* now practiſed in that Kingdom are for the moſt Part the ſame as the *Anglo-Saxons* brought with them from *Germany*.

The Laws of England *deriv'd from the* Saxons.

In the ſecond Book of this Hiſtory we have ſeen how the *Saxons* were no ſooner come into *Great-Britain*, but they form'd a Deſign of ſettling there, and how at length they accompliſhed their Ends after a War of 150 Years. This long War bred ſuch an Animoſity between them and the *Britons*, that there is no Probabliity the *Saxons*, who in the End were victorious, ſhould take from the Vanquiſh'd the Form of Government they eſtabliſhed in their Conqueſts. If therefore we are deſirous of tracing out the Origin of the *Laws* and *Cuſtoms* of the *Anglo-Saxons*, we muſt ſearch for it in *Germany* and the *Northern* Countries, rather than among the antient *Britons*. The Truth is, ſuch is the Reſemblance between the Laws of the *Saxons*, *Francs*, *Suevi*, *Lombards*, and the other *Northern* Nations, that it neceſſarily follows from thence, theſe Laws ſprung from the ſame Source, and were of an older Date than the Separation of theſe People. This Reſemblance is ſtill much ſtronger between the Laws of the *Anglo-*

glo-Saxons in *Great-Britain*, and of the *Saxons* in *Germany*, ſince they were both the ſame Nation, part whereof went and ſettled in *England*. An *Engliſh* Hiſtorian, by comparing the Laws and Cuſtoms of the *Germans* with thoſe of the *Engliſh*, has plainly made appear, that the *Engliſh* introduced into *Great-Britain* the ſame Laws they had liv'd under in their own Country. He even aſſures us, that till the *Norman Conqueſt*, there was not ſo much as one Law in *England* but what in the main the *Germans* had the ſame. 'Tis true, as the *Anglo-Saxons* were made up of three ſeveral Nations, who were ſettled in different Parts of *England*, there might be ſome Difference upon that Account, between the Seven Kingdoms of the *Heptarchy*. But this Difference could not be very great, ſince theſe three Nations were united in *Germany*, before their coming into *England*, and made there but one and the ſame People under the general Name of *Saxons*. All therefore that can be inferred from hence is, that the Laws eſtabliſhed by the *Anglo-Saxons* in *England*, were a Mixture of the Laws of the *Angles*, *Saxons*, and *Jutes*. But to look for the Origin of the *Engliſh Conſtitution* among the antient *Britons*, would be going upon no Foundation, though 'tis not impoſſible but their *Forms* of Government might in ſome Reſpects be conformable. The Laws and Cuſtoms therefore, introduc'd into *Great-Britain* by the *Anglo-Saxons*, are to be conſidered, as made up of the Laws their Anceſtors brought with them into *Germany*, and of thoſe they found enacted among the antient *Germans*. And indeed, what *Tacitus* ſays of the *German* Cuſtoms, correſponds ſo exactly with ſeveral of the *Saxon* ones, that one can hardly queſtion but the *Saxons* borrowed many things from the *Germans*, unleſs we ſhould chuſe to ſay, that the Cuſtoms of both Nations flow'd from the ſame Fountain. But to trace back theſe Matters to their common Source, would be a Work of infinite Labour. And therefore without carrying this Inquiry any further, I ſhall content my ſelf with laying down a Plan of the Government theſe Conquerors eſtabliſhed in *England*. Brady.

The Title of King among the Saxons.

The *Saxons* had no Kings in *Germany*, when they ſent over their firſt Troops to aſſiſt the *Britons* under the Conduct of *Hengiſt* *. Their Territories were divided into twelve Provinces, over each of which a Head or Governor was appointed by the *Aſſembly-General* of the Nation, wherein the *Supreme Power* was lodg'd. This Aſſembly was called *Wittena-Gemot*, that is to ſay, the *Aſſembly of the Wiſe-Men* *1; and alſo the *Mycel-Synod*, that is, *the Great Aſſembly*. Beſides theſe Heads of Provinces there were others alſo ſet over the Cities and *Burroughs*. In time of War, the *Aſſembly* elected a *General* to command the Army, and to be the *Chief* or *Head* of the Commonwealth *2. There is no doubt but this *General* had great *Prerogatives*; though we are ignorant of their preciſe Number and extent. It even appears, by the perpetual Conteſts in *England*, between the Princes inveſted with this high Dignity, and the other Kings, that theſe *Prerogatives* had no fix'd and ſettled Bounds.

Though the Title of *King* was not in uſe among the *Saxons*, *Hengiſt* however took it upon him as ſoon as he was put in Poſſeſſion of *Kent*. Indeed, 'twould have been a hard Matter for him to have found any other ſo proper to denote his *Sovereignty* over that Province. 'Tis true, the Titles of *Duke* and *Earl*, or, what is the ſame, of *Heretogh* and *Ealdorman*, were not *then* unknown. But they were not as yet us'd to ſignify *Sovereigns*. 'Twas not till long after, that certain *Dukes* and *Earls* being inveſted with Sovereign Power, theſe Titles were made uſe of to denote the ſupreme Authority. The other *Saxon* Leaders, who ſettled in *Great-Britain* after *Hengiſt*, imitated his Example, in aſſuming the Title of *King*. Thus, whereas in *Germany*, the *Saxon* Territories were divided into twelve *Governments*,

The Form of Government eſtabliſhed by th Saxons *in* England.

* It is obſervable, that in *France*, *Spain* and *Italy* they have no word that ſignifies *King*, but what is borrowed from the *Latin*, a Language theſe Invaders were Strangers to when they ſettled in their Conqueſts.

*1 Whence our *Parliament* is ſometimes ſtil'd, *The Wiſdom of the Nation.*

*2 This *General* was choſen out of the Twelve Governors.

ments, their Conqueſts in *England* were canton'd out into Seven Kingdoms; but with this Difference, that in *Germany*, each Governour depended on the *Aſſembly-General* of the Nation, whereas in *England*, each King was *Sovereign* in his petty Kingdom. But ſtill this did not exempt him from all Dependance on the *Wittena-Gemot* of his own State, which in conjunction with him regulated all important Affairs. Moreover, by mutual Conſent, there was eſtabliſhed a *General Aſſembly* of the whole *Seven Kingdoms*, wherein Matters relating to all in common were debated. Hence this Form of Government, which conſidered the *Seven Kingdoms* as united in one Body, was called *the Heptarchy*, that is, *the Government of Seven.*

A Witte-na-gemot in each Kingdom.

Theſe firſt Kings having ſcarce any other Subjects but their own Countrymen, durſt not think of aſſuming a *deſpotick* Power. Perhaps they had never any ſuch Thoughts, having been accuſtomed to the contrary in their own Country. They eſtabliſh'd therefore, or rather continued a *Wittena-gemot*, each in his own Kingdom, wherein the ſame Affairs were determin'd, as were wont to be ſo in the like *Aſſemblies in Germany*. As for what concern'd the common Intereſt of the *Seven Kingdoms*, 'twas debated in a *General Aſſembly* of the Nation, at which were preſent all the Kings and great Men of the *Heptarchy*. 'Tis not preciſely known what were the *Rights* and *Privileges* of the *General Wittena-gemot*. In all likelihood they were much the ſame the *States-General* of the *United Provinces* enjoy at this Day. Each King was *Sovereign*; but put in Execution the Determinations agreed upon in common, to which he had given his Conſent, either in Perſon or by his Deputies. Be this as it will, the common Opinion is, that there was a *Wittena-gemot* for each Kingdom in Particular, and a General one for all the *Seven* *.

From

* In order to have a clear Notion of the *Gothick Model* of Government eſtabliſhed in the ſeveral Kingdoms of *Europe*, 'twill be neceſſary to conſider the Nature of their Armies that were ſent out in

The Nature of the Saxon *Government.*

From hence 'tis no hard Matter to judge of the Nature of the *Anglo-Saxon* Government. 'Twas *Monarchical,* in queſt of new Habitations. As their whole Nation was divided, like the *Iſraelites*, into ſo many diſtinct *Tribes* with each its own Judges, without any common *Superior*, unleſs in time of War, like the *Roman Dictator*: So in like manner the Armies or Colonies, ſent out upon their Countries being overſtock'd with Inhabitants, were not Armies of *Hirelings*, who conquer'd for the Benefit of their *Paymaſters*, but *voluntary Societies* or *Partners* in the Expedition, conſiſting of ſo many diſtinct Armies out of every *Tribe*, conducted each by their own Leaders, and united under one common General or Superior choſen by Conſent, who was alſo Head or Captain of his own *Tribe*. This then being the Nature of the Confederate Army, 'tis evident that upon their conquering a Country, the Property of the *Land* was in the whole *Collective* Body, and that every Individual had a Right to ſhare in what he had help'd to conquer. Accordingly to fix this undetermin'd Right, the conquer'd Country was divided into as many *Shares* (call'd afterwards *Shires*, *Counties*, &c.) as the *General* or *King* had Companions, or as the Army was compos'd of *Tribes*, that each *Tribe*, as they had liv'd together in their own Country, might do the ſame in their new Settlement. After this general Diviſion, the Lands were portioned out among the Leaders and Officers, who ſubdivided them among their Followers. Theſe Allotments, whilſt annual or for life, were call'd in *Latin*, *Beneficia* (a Word appropriated ſince to *Church Preferments*) and afterwards *Feuds*, that is, *a Gift of Poſſeſſions*; from the *Teutonick*, *Fee* a Gift, and *od* a Poſſeſſion; in our Language they are ſtill call'd *Fees*. As it was neceſſary upon their ſettling in a newly ſubdu'd Country, to continue their General, he may be conſider'd in two reſpects; firſt, as Lord of a private Diſtrict divided among his own particular Followers, and as Lord or Head of the great Seniority of the Kingdom. Thus we may frame an Idea of the Nature of the Governments ſettled in *Europe* by the *Northern* Nations. Over each Diſtrict or Country preſided an *Ealdorman* or *Earl*, who with an Aſſembly of the *Landholders* or *Vaſſals*, (ſo call'd from *Geſell*, the Name they went by in their own Country) regulated all Affairs relating to the *Country*. And over the great Seigniory of the Kingdom preſided the General or King, who with a General Aſſembly of the *Wites* or *Vaſſals* of the Crown, regulated the Affairs relating to the whole Community. How this was done in *England*, and who were the Members of the *Country-Courts* or *Aſſemblies*, as well as of the *Great Court* of the Kingdom, will be ſhown under the next Head of the *Courts of Juſtice*. From what has been ſaid, many uſeful Remarks may be made. Hence we ſee the Origin of the *Principalities*, *Dukedoms*, *Counties*, and the like, that the ſeveral *European* Kingdoms are divided into. From hence we may alſo obſerve that the Property

or

chical, as each Kingdom had its King; but then it was alſo *Ariſtocratical*, as the King had not the Power of making Laws without the Conſent of the *Aſſembly-General*, conſiſting of the Chief Lords of the Nation. Several go farther, and affirm it was partly *Democratical*, and that the *People* ſent their *Repreſentatives* to the *Wittena-gemot*, as they do now to the *Parliament*. This Opinion ſhall be fully examined hereafter. In the mean time it will be neceſſary to take a View of the ſeveral *Ranks* and *Degrees* of Men among the *Anglo-Saxons*, ſince otherwiſe there is no having a diſtinct Knowledge of the Nature of their Government.

The ſeveral Degrees and Orders of Men among the Anglo-Saxons.

I ſhall

or *directum Dominium* of the Land was in the Collective Body or the Publick, and that the *Tenants in Fee* were only inveſted with the *Dominium utile*; and therefore that the *Great Lords* held their *Seignories* of the Publick or Kingdom, and not of the King. Thus the *German* Princes hold of the *Empire*, not of the Emperor; and this is the Reaſon of the *Engliſh* Lords being call'd *Peers of the Realm*, tho' they are now commonly thought to have held of the King. After the *Fees* from being annual became Eſtates of *Inheritance*, many Differences aroſe between the two *Superiors* and the *Vaſſals*, and between the *Vaſſals* themſelves, upon which their reciprocal Rights and Duties were inquir'd into and ſettled. The Rules collected from ſuch Deciſions by Degrees, were term'd the *Feudal Law*, and prevailed over *Europe* for many Ages. This Law is diſtinguiſhed by Biſhop *Nicolſon* into theſe Periods; its Birth from the Irruption of the Northern Nations to 650; its Infancy, from thence to 800; its Youth, from thence to 1027; And laſtly, its State of Perfection ſoon after that Time. The Princes of *Europe* and their People being link'd together by *Feudal Tenures* (the which if duly conſider'd will effectually ſhow the true Nature of the *Royal Power*, and the *Meaſures* of the People's Obedience) remain'd for a long Time in a happy State, there having been no Prince in *Europe* that ever imagined he had a Title to arbitrary Power, till the *Civil Law*, which had been buried in oblivion for ſome Time after the ſettling of the Northern Nations in the *Weſtern* Empire, was brought to light. Then ſome Princes made *Lex Regia* a handle to aſſume a deſpotick Power, and introduced the *Civil Law* purely upon that Account into their Kingdoms. This was unſucceſsfully attempted in *England*; but it prevails in orher Parts of *Europe*, eyen in *Spain* it ſelf, where the Reading it purely for this Cauſe. was once forbid on Pain of Death. See St. *Amand*'s Eſſay on the Legiſlative Power of *England*, p. 46.

The King. I ſhall ſay nothing here of the *King*, becauſe I ſhall have occaſion here to ſpeak of his *Power* and *Prerogatives*.

The Queen. The *Queen* was the Second Perſon in the State; tho' only with regard to the Reſpect that was paid her, for ſhe had nothing to do in the Government. If ſometimes the *Queens* ſign'd the *Charters* with the Kings their Husbands, it was rather on Account of their Rank, than for any Neceſſity there was for it. During the whole Time of the *Saxon* Government, we find but one *Queen* inveſted with the *Sovereignty*; I mean *Saxburga Queen* of *Weſſex*. However ſome Hiſtorians aſſure us, ſhe was depos'd by the *Weſt-Saxons*, purely on the Score of her being a Woman. We have ſeen, how on Account of *Brithrick*'s Death, *Egbert*'s immediate Predeceſſor, the ſame *Weſt-Saxons* depriv'd their *Queens* of the *Prerogatives* they had till then enjoy'd. The Title of *Queen*, which was, and ſtill is given to the *Queen*, means only in its original Signification, a *Companion*, in *Latin*, *Comes*. In Proceſs of Time this Term was made uſe of to denote more particularly thoſe who were neareſt the King's Perſon; from whence it came to have a more general Signification, and to be underſtood of *the Great Lords*. Thus we find in the old *French Romances*, and Poets, *Li Queen de Flandre*, *Li Queen de Leiceſter*, inſtead of, *the Earls of Flanders* and of *Leiceſter*. The Word *Queen* then was common to Men and Women, juſt as *Comes* in *Latin*. In fine, the Term *Count* or *Earl* being ſubſtituted in its Room, when applied to Men, *Queen* was appropriated to the Women only. Afterwards coming to have a more reſtrain'd Signification, it was made uſe of only to denote *the Companion of the King*, or *the Queen*. But 'tis to be obſerved, this Appellation is common to all *Queens*, whether they hold their Dignity by vertue of their Huſband's, or of their own Right.

Remark on the word Queen.

The Princes. The King's Sons and the Princes of the Royal Family held the Third Rank. They were diſtinguiſhed by the Title of *Clyto*, taken from a *Greek* Word ſignifying, *Illuſtrious*. 'Tis ſomewhat difficult to know the Reaſon why the *Saxon* Princes affected a *Greek* Title. One would

Remark on the Title of Clyto.

be

be apt to think the word *Clyto* came from ſome old *Saxon* Term, if *Edgar*'s Title of *Totius Angliæ Baſileus* *, did not make it viſible, they had a view to the *Greek*. As this Title was peculiar to the Princes, they came by Degrees to make uſe of *Clyto* alone, to denote a Prince of the Royal Blood. Accordingly, nothing is more common in the antient *Engliſh* Hiſtorians than to meet with the Terms *Clytones*, *Clytonculi* inſtead of, *the King's Sons*. In proceſs of Time, the *Saxon* Term *Atheling*, from *Athel*, that is, *Noble*, was ſubſtituted in its Place. As for the Termination *Ing*, it denotes the Extraction or Deſcent, as *Malmsbury* informs us. *The Sons of the Kings of England*, ſays he, *were wont to aſſume Names, which ſhew'd their Extraction. Thus, the Son of* Edgar *nam'd himſelf* Edgaring, *the Son of* Edmund, Edmunding, *and ſo of the others. But they had all one common Title, namely, that of* Atheling. As the *French*, which ſettled in *Gaul*, came from *Germany*, 'tis very likely the Determination *Ing* in the words, *Merovingians*, and *Carlovingians*, that is, the Deſcendents of *Merovius* and *Charles*, is deriv'd from the ſame Source. Selden, *Titles of Honour.*

The next Degree, after the Prince, was that of *Ealdorman* *'. This Word, which in its *primary* Signification means only an *Aged Man*, came by Degrees to ſtand for Perſons of the greateſt Diſtinction, apparently becauſe ſuch were choſen to diſcharge the higheſt Offices, whoſe long Experience had rendered them moſt capable. 'Tis not only among the *Saxons* that this Word is us'd in theſe two different Senſes. We find in Scripture that the *Elders* of *Iſrael*, of *Moab* and of *Midian* were taken for the chief Men of their reſpective Nations. The Word, *Senator*, *Senor*, *Signor*, *Seigneur*, in *Latin*, *Spaniſh*, *Italian*, and *French*, ſignify the ſame Thing. The *Ealdormans* therefore in *England* were the moſt conſiderable of the Ealdorman.

* King *Edgar* ſtiles himſelf thus in his Charter of *Glaſſenbury-Abby*, as it ſtands in *Malmsbury*'s Antiquities of that Monaſtery.

*' Our Author calls them *Earldorman*; but I can't find the Word is ſo ſpelt in any Writer. The *Saxon Annals*, &c. ſtil'd them *Ealdormen*.

Nobility, discharged the highest Offices, and consequently had the largest Estates. As they were generally intrusted with the Government of the *Counties*, instead of saying the *Governour*, they said the *Ealdorman* of such a County. Hence it was that by Degrees this Word came to signify the Governour of a *County* or *City*. Whilst the *Heptarchy* lasted, these Offices were only during the King's Pleasure, who turn'd out the *Ealdormans* when he thought fit, and plac'd others in their Room. At length they became during Life, at least for the most Part. But however, this did not hinder the *Ealdormans* from being displaced upon several Accounts. We have seen Instances of this in the Reigns of *Canute the Great*, and *Edward the Confessor*. After the *Danes* were settled in *England*, the Title of *Ealdorman* was by Degrees changed into that of *Earl*, a *Danish* Word of the same Import. Afterward the *Normans* brought in that of *Count*, which, though different in its *primary* Signification, meant however the same Dignity. But for Reasons too long to be insisted upon here, the *Danish* Term *Earl*, is still us'd to denote the same Person, called in other Countries *Count*.

Several Sorts of Ealdormans.

There were several sorts of *Ealdormans*. Some were only Governours of a Province or County. Others held their Province as an Estate of Inheritance, and as a *Fee* of the Crown, so that it was always considered as a *Parcel* of the State. The History of *Alfred the Great*, affords an Instance of this last Sort of *Ealdormans*, which were very rare in *England*. We find there that this Prince gave the *Inheritance* of *Mercia* to Earl *Ethelred*, and that *Elfleda* his Widow kept Possession of it in the Reign of *Edward the Elder*. And it was not but by Force that *Edward* dispossessed his Niece *Alfwina* after the Death of *Elfleda*. *Malmsbury*, speaking of *Edward the Elder*, expresses himself thus; *He had united the two Kingdoms of* Mercia *and* Wessex; *but as for the first, he was only* titular King *of it, because it had been given to a Lord nam'd* Ethelred. And to show in what Manner this Lord held *Mercia*, the same Historian speaking of *Alfred the Great*, says, He gave *London*, the Capital of *Mercia*, *to a Lord called* Ethelred, *who had married*

married Elfleda *his Daughter, to hold it of him by* Fealty *and* Homage. Hence 'tis plain, *Ethelred* held *Mercia* as a *Fee*, in the ſame Manner that *Octa* and *Ebuſa* had formerly held *Northumberland* of the Crown of *Kent*, as this Hiſtorian aſſures us. Thus alſo in *France*, about the third Deſcent of their Kings, the *Dukedoms* and *Earldoms*, which were before only bare Governments, were made *Hereditary*, on condition of doing Homage for them. Theſe *Ealdormans* or *Earls* were honour'd with the Titles of *Reguli*, *Subreguli*, *Principes*, *Patricii*, and ſometimes *Reges* *. As for the others, who were only Governours, they had the Title of *Ealdorman* of ſuch a County, expreſſed ſometimes in *Latin* by the Term *Conſul*. The *firſt* adminiſtred Juſtice in their own Name; appropriated to their own Uſe all the Profits and Revenues of their reſpective *Counties*. The *laſt* adminiſtred Juſtice in the King's Name, and had only a certain Share of the Profits aſſigned them. Earl *Goodwin*, how great a Lord ſoever he was in other reſpects, was of this laſt Rank. To theſe may be added a third Order of *Ealdormans*, who had the Title, though without a Government, on account of their high Birth; out of theſe it was that the Governours were uſually choſen. Thus the Title of *Ealdorman* was us'd ſometimes to ſignify only a *Perſon of Quality*.

* *Dufreſne* voce *Par.*

There were alſo inferiour *Ealdormans* in *Cities* and *Boroughs*. But theſe were only ſubordinate Magiſtrates, who adminiſtred Juſtice in the King's Name, and were dependent on the great *Ealdormans* or *Earls*. The Name of *Ealdorman* or *Alderman* is ſtill given to theſe inferiour Officers, whilſt the others have the Title of *Earl* or *Count*.

The Office of an *Ealdorman* was wholly *Civil*, and had nothing to do with *military* Affairs. There was in each Province a *Duke*, who commanded the *Militia*. The Name of *Duke* taken from the *Latin Dux*, is a Modern Term. The *Saxons* called this Officer *Heretogh* *. He had no Right to meddle with *Civil* Matters. His Buſineſs was of a quite different Nature from that of an *Earl*,

Dukes of Heretogh*an.*

* i. e. *Publick Leader or Captain.*

Earl, as he was alſo independent of him. *Hengiſt* and *Horſa* are called in the *Saxon Annals*, *Heretoghan*, or *Dukes*, becauſe they were ſent into *Great Britain*, not to govern the Country, but to command in the War. On the contrary, *Octa* and *Ebuſa* have all along in the ſame *Annals* the Title of *Ealdorman*, becauſe they were Governours of *Northumberland*, under the Kingdom of *Kent*. 'Tis true, they might alſo be ſtiled *Dukes* as they had the Command of the Army. Accordingly we find in our Hiſtories, ſometimes the Title of *Duke*, ſometimes of *Earl*, given to the ſame Perſon, when theſe two Offices were united in one, as they frequently were, towards the End of the *Heptarchy*. Thus the Governours of *Weſſex*, *Mercia*, and *Eaſt-Anglia*, are indifferently called *Dukes*, or *Earls*. But I don't know the Reaſon why Hiſtorians never give the Title of *Duke* to the Governour of *Northumberland*. And yet ſome of them had the Command of the Armies, as is plain from the Example of *Syward*, to whom *Edward the Confeſſor* committed the Management of the War with *Cumberland* *.

Ealdorman *of all* England.

There were among the *Saxons*, three very conſiderable *Offices* and *Dignities*, two whereof were *Civil*, and the third *Military*. The firſt, which very few Subjects were ever entruſted with, was that of *Ealdorman of all England*. This Office anſwers to that of *Chief Juſticiary of England*, *Viceroy*, and *Guardian of the Realm*. This was ſo high a Dignity, that the Perſon inveſted with it was honoured with the Title of *Half-Kyning*, or *Demi-King*. We find in the Hiſtory of the *Anglo-Saxons*, but two Lords who were rais'd to this Poſt, namely, *Athelſtan* Earl of *Eaſt-Anglia*, and *Ailwin* his Son, who were ſtil'd *Totius Angliæ Aldermannus*.

The

* The Union of theſe two Offices in one Perſon was no more than what was practiſed among the *Romans* in the Perſon of their *Conſul*. The Art of War in the *Saxons* Time was not arrived to that Degree of Nicety as it is at preſent. You have at large the Duty of the *Heretogh*, and the manner of his being elected by the County-Aſſembly at a full *Folk-mote*, in the Laws of *Edward the Confeſſor*. See Dr. *Wilkins*, p. 205. De *Heretochijs*.

The Second great *Office* was that of *Chancellor* *. He determined all Cauſes that were brought to the King's Court, and from him lay no Appeal. 'Twas his Buſineſs alſo to draw up, and ſign all the King's *Charters*, without which they would have wanted ſome neceſſary Formalities. The firſt *Chancellor*, mentioned in the *Saxon* Hiſtory, was *Turketule*, Couſin to *Edward the Elder*, who was afterwards Abbot of *Croyland*. However, I am apt to think this Office was of a more *Modern* Inſtitution. Chancellor. Selden *Titles of Honour.* p. 505.

The Third conſiderable Officer was the General of the Army, in *Saxon*, *Kyning's-Hold*, that is, the *King's General*. He was chief of the *Dukes*, or the *Generaliſſimo*, like the *High-Conſtable of France*. This Office laſted only during the War. In time of Peace, or when the King did not think fit to have a *Generaliſſimo*, the *Holds* or *Dukes* of each Province had the Care of the *Militia*. Kyning's-Hold, *or* Generaliſſimo.

Next to the *Earls* and *Dukes* were the *High-Sheriffs* of the *Counties*. Theſe were Officers ſent by the King into ſuch *Counties* as had no *Earls*, to adminiſter Juſtice in his Name and Stead. They were call'd in *Latin*, *Summi Præpoſiti*, *Cuſtodes Provinciarum*, and afterwards, *Vicecomites*, not that they were under the *Earls* or *Counts*, but becauſe they performed the Office of One. 'Tis very true, there were ſometimes *High-Sheriffs* in thoſe *Counties*, where there were alſo *Earls*, but *Selden* ſuppoſes 'twas upon Account of ſuch *Counties* being by ſome peculiar Privilege under the immediate Juriſdiction of the King. But however this be, hence came the Title of *Viſcount*, the next in order to that of *Earl* or *Count*. As for the Name of *Sheriffs* *1, it was continued to ſome inferior Officers, who did the Duty High-Sheriffs *or* Viſcounts.

* So called from the barbarous *Latin* Word *Cancellare*, from his *Cancelling* or Striking out what he pleas'd in Mens Grants and *Petitions*, *Tyrrel*, *Introd.* p. 73.

*1 *Sheriff*, as if *Shire-reve* (*i. e.*) Præfect of the *Shire*, from the *Saxon*, *Gereſa* contracted into *Greſa*, and *Greve*, and by the *Normans*, into *Reve*; thus *Portgreve* is *Præfectus Portûs*, from the *German* Word *Grave*, which ſignifies a Judge. Whence the old Words *Cent-Grave*, *Tun-Grave*, &c. for the chief Magiſtrates in the *Hundreds* and *Tythings*. Thus in *Germany* the Judges of the *Burroughs* and

Duty in each *County*, of the antient *Viſcounts*: Theſe laſt having been long ſince rank'd among the Peers of the Realm.

Thanes. After the *High-Sheriffs* came the *Thanes*, a Name in *Saxon*, ſignifying *Miniſter* or *Servant*. There were two ſorts. *Maſs-Thanes*, that is, *Eccleſiaſtical-Thanes*, and *Werold-Thanes*, that is, *Lay-Thanes*. The *Thanes* in general were divided into three Claſſes. The firſt were the *King's Thanes*, who were the immediate *Tenants* of the Crown, and did *Homage* to the King only. Theſe were properly what were afterwards called *Peers of the Realm*, and made the Body of the *greater* Nobility. Conſequently, *Dukes*, *Ealdormans*, and Viſcounts were rank'd among the *Thanes* of the *Firſt Claſs*, as well as they who having no Offices were the immediate Tenants of the Crown. The *Normans* chang'd the Term *Thane* into *Baron*, and ſtil'd the Lands *Baronies*, which the *Saxons* call'd *Thane-lands*. Hence it has been the Cuſtom for a long while in *England* to rank all the *greater* Nobility under the general Title of *Barons*, becauſe all the great Men were *Thanes* *. The Second Claſs of

Marches were called *Bur-Graves* and *Mark-Graves*, and *Grave* is ſtill us'd there to ſignify the *Sovereign Princes* of the Territories 'tis applied to. The *Saxon Sheriffs* were choſen by the Aſſembly of the County. *See Dr.* Wilkins, *p.* 205.

* It is the common Opinion that the *Barons* after the *Conqueſt* were the ſame with the *Thanes* in the *Saxon* times; but upon Examination it will appear otherwiſe. The Word *Thane* occurs not in the oldeſt *Saxon* Monuments, and their Original ſeems to be this. When time had poliſhed the *Anglo-Saxons*, many Offices that the *Great Men* diſcharg'd at firſt in their own Perſons, were for Eaſe and Grandeur by them devolved on others. And as in thoſe Days there was but little Money, ſuch Perſons were rewarded for their Services, by having Land given them. Such Lands were call'd *Tain-land*, which paid no Rent, the Superior having the Tenant's *Service* in Lieu of it. Thus a *Great Lord*'s *Chamberlain*, *Hawker*, *Hunter*, were called his *Thanes*. Theſe *Thanes* were divided into *greater* or *leſſer*, only differing in this, that the *greater* held of the King, and the *leſſer* of ſome Subject. Hence it appears that the *Thanes* were no other Perſons than thoſe the *Normans* called *Tenants by Serjeantry*, when the *Service* was of a publick Nature, that is, if Land were given for the *Service* of *High-Steward*, or *Marſhal* of *England*, ſuch *Gift* and *Service* was called *Grand Serjeantry*;

of *Thanes* were what they call'd *Middle-Thanes*, becauſe there being others of an inferior Degree under them, they held the middle Rank. If they held any Lands of the Kings, they were inconſiderable, and generally ſpeaking, what they held was of the Earls or *Barons*. The *Normans* gave them the Name of *Vavaſors*, and their Lands *Vavaſores*. The Third Claſs of *Thanes* were ſuch as held their Lands of the *Middle-Thanes*, or *Vavaſors*. Theſe were not rank'd among the *leſſer* Nobility. They were properly ſuch as liv'd upon their own Eſtates, and being of no Profeſſion, were diſtinguiſhed from the meaner Sort of People. If I am not miſtaken, to theſe belong'd particularly the Title of *Gentlemen*; whereas the *Middle-Thanes* were in the ſame Rank with our *Knights* and *Squires* at this Day. I am very ſenſible that ſeveral are of Opinion that Selden. the Title of *Gentleman* is equivalent to that of *Nobilis*, and conſequently that they were a Part of the Nobility. The Affinity between the Words *Gentleman* and *Gentilhomme* ſeems to favour this Notion. I have no Deſign to diſpute this Matter with them. I ſhall only obſerve this remarkable Difference between a *Gentilhomme* of *France*, and a *Gentleman* of *England*. In *France* there being but one Body of Nobility, every *Gentilhomme* is a Member of that Body, and no leſs *Noble* than a Duke. But a *Gentleman* in *England* can at beſt be rank'd but in the Second Order of *Nobles*, that is, among the *leſſer Nobility* or *Gentry*. Beſides, in *England* abundance of People of very mean Birth are called *Gentlemen*, who moſt certainly in *France* would have no Right to be ſtiled *Gentilshommes*.

The loweſt order among the *Saxons*, I mean, of *Free-Men*, was that of the *Ceorle*, that is, *Merchants*, *Artificers*, *Countrymen* and others. Hence no doubt is deriv'd *The Ceorles.*

antry; but if for *Service* of *Steward of the Houſhold*, *Maſter of the Horſe*, theſe reſpecting only the Perſon of the King, ſuch *Services* made only a *Tenure* of *Petit-Serjeantry*. Now the firſt of theſe only, as holding of the *Publick*, were ranked among the *Barons*. *Serjeantry* is *French* for *Servitium*, ſo that *Thanes* and *Serjeants* mean the ſame thing, viz. *Miniſters* or *Servants*. *Vide St.* Amand. p. 112.

the Word *Churl* or *Carle*, a Name given by way of Contempt to People of mean Condition. The *Ceorles* were equally free, as to their Perſons, with the *Thanes of the third Claſs*, however with this Difference: The *Thanes* held ſuch Eſtates as were called *Bock-land*, or *Free-land*, conveyable by *Deed* or otherwiſe: But the *Ceorles* were poſſeſs'd only of what they call'd *Socland* or Lands of the *Plow*, which they could not alienate, becauſe they were only in the Nature of *Farmers*. Theſe were the higheſt Degree of the *Ceorles*, and were diſtinguiſh'd by the honorable Name of *Socmen*, by ſuch who were not rich enough to attain to it, and by ſuch as gain'd their livelihood by ſome Trade. All in general under *Thanes* and above *Slaves* were in the Rank of *Ceorles*, who [as to their Perſons, though not Lands] were as free as the *Ealdormans* and *Thanes* themſelves. They might even arrive at the Dignity of a *Thane of the third Claſs*, if they ſo thriv'd as to be in poſſeſſion of five *Hydes of Land*, a *Houſe with an enclos'd Court*, a *Kitchen*, a *Hall* and a *Bell* to call their Domeſticks together. *Selden* thinks a *Hyde* of Land was ſuch a *Quantity* as could be managed with one *Plow* *.

* *See* p. 9. *Of* Bondſmen, *two ſorts.*

The loweſt Rank of Men were the *Slaves* or *Bond-men*, of whom there were two ſorts; ſuch as were really Slaves, who, poſſeſſing no Eſtates, work'd only for their Lords, by whom for that reaſon they were maintain'd. The others, who were properly *Servants*, had ſmall *Holdings* at the Will of their Lords, for which they did all the ſervile Country Works that were ſet them. As for the Original of theſe Slaves, ſome think they were the Deſcendents of the meaner ſort of *Britons*, who ſubmitted to become Slaves, in order to ſave their Lives, during the furious Proceedings of the firſt *Saxons* in *England*. Others are of Opinion, they were deriv'd from ſuch as the *Saxons* brought over in the Nature of Slaves into *England*. However this be, theſe [*Prædial*] Bondmen, not quite ſo much Slaves as the others, manag'd their Lord's Lands, from whence they had ſome ſmall Advantage themſelves, without having the Liberty of quitting the Place of their Abode, and going to ſettle elſewhere, unleſs they had their Lord's Conſent. They

were afterwards call'd *Villains*, that is, *Villagers*, from the *Villages* where they liv'd and work'd. We meet in ſeveral Parts of *Germany*, with ſuch ſort of *Peaſants*, who are ſubject to a great Deal of *Drudgery*, and who generally are dealt very hardly with by their Lords. When a Slave had his Freedom given him, he was immediately rank'd among the *Ceorles*, the Slaves that were made free not conſtituting, as ſome pretend, a new Order of Men. 'Tis true they were called *Freolætan*, that is, *Freedmen*: but it was only to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe that were born *Free*, who had however no peculiar Privileges. Among the *Anglo-Saxons*, the Lords had not the Power of Life and Death over their Slaves. The Laws had even provided, that they ſhould not cripple or maim them without incurring a Penalty. They who made ſuch Laws, imitated in ſome Meaſure the *Law* of God, without knowing it *.

All the King's Subjects, except *Slaves* and *Villains*, were *Freemen* and *Freeholders*. But tho' *Earls*, *Barons*, or *Thanes* might be included under this general Appellation, yet by *Freeholders* is commonly meant the *Thanes* of the ſecond and third *Claſſes*, and the *Ceorles*. Freeholders.

The Inhabitants of Towns, who were call'd *Burghwitan* or *Burghers*, had the Privilege of being governed by Magiſtrates choſen out of their own Body, to whom they gave the Title of *Aldermen*, and alſo of forming themſelves into *Corporations* *1. This Privilege was granted them for Burghers and Aldermen.

* There were in *England* two Sorts of *Villains*, a *Villain in Groſs*, who was immediately bound to the Perſon of his Lord, and his Heirs. The other, a *Villain regardant to a Manour*, that is, belonging and being annex'd to a *Manour*. There are not truly any *Villains* now, tho' the Law concerning them ſtands unrepeal'd, the Succeſſors of the *Bond-Men* or *Villains* are the *Copy-holders*, who, tho' Time has dealt favourably with them in other Reſpects, yet they ſtill retain one Mark of their original Servitude. For as of old *Villains* were not reckoned as Members of the Commonwealth, but *Part* and *Parcel* of their Owner's Subſtance, ſo were they therefore excluded from any Share in the *Legiſlature*, and their Succeſſors ſtill continue without any Right, to vote at *Elections*, by virtue of their *Copy-holds*.

*1 After Lands were appropriated and become *Eſtates of Inheritance*, Neceſſity oblig'd many People to deviſe Ways and Means from

for the Incouragement of *Arts*, and eſpecially of *Trade* and *Commerce*, which was juſtly look'd upon as of very great Advantage to the State. With a view to this it was alſo enacted by Law, that if a Merchant had croſs'd the *Wide-Sea* three Times, he ſhould be honoured with the Title of *Thane*, and admitted to all the Privileges of that Order. I don't know what is meant here by the *Wide-Sea*, unleſs it be the *German Ocean*, ſince in thoſe Days, *America* was not diſcovered. Ever ſince the Time of the *Saxons Merchants* have been in great Repute in *England*, ſince we frequently find ſuch, as have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their Commerce, have the Honour of *Knighthood* conferr'd upon them by the King.

Having now gone through the ſeveral Orders and Degrees of Men among the *Anglo-Saxons*, I ſhall in the next Place, conſider how they were governed, and principally, their Manner of *adminiſtring Juſtice*. To this End it will be neceſſary to ſpeak of the different *Courts* they erected in *England*, from whence we may ſee the Origin of the ſeveral *Courts of Juſtice* now eſtabliſh'd in that Kingdom.

THE

COURTS *of* JUSTICE.

I Have already obſerved in the Life of *Alfred the Great*, that this Prince divided *England* into *Shires*, the *Shires* into *Trythings*, *Laths*, or *Wapentakes*, theſe again into *Hundreds*, and the *Hundreds* into *Tythings*. However it muſt not be imagin'd that in doing this, he introduc'd ſomething

from miniſtring to the Occaſions, Eaſe and Pleaſures of the Rich, to obtain by ſuch Services a Maintenance to themſelves. Hence aroſe the Invention and Incouragement of Arts and Sciences. This laid the Foundation of the many *Cities* or *Burroughs* which were formed throughout *Europe*, which formerly in other Kingdoms as well as in *England* by being neceſſary and uſeful became conſiderable. *St.* Amand. *p.* 32.

thing entirely New to the *Engliſh*. He only ſettled the Bounds of the former Diviſions, making ſome Alterations in them for Conveniency ſake. At leaſt, as to the cantoning the Kingdom into *Shires*, 'tis certain he only proportion'd them in a better Manner than had been done before. This is evident from there having been Earls of *Somerſetſhire* and *Devonſhire* in the Reign of *Ethelwulph*, as *Aſſer* relates, who lived about that Time. But *Alfred* having united all *England* into one Monarchy, divided his whole Dominions more regularly and into a great Number of Parts. The *Shires* contained a whole Province ſubject to the Juriſdictions of an *Earl* or *Count*, whence they were alſo call'd *Counties*. Some of theſe *Shires* being divided into *Trythings*, others into *Laths*, and others into *Wapentakes*, each of theſe Diviſions, which are the ſame Thing under different Names *, conſiſted of three or four *Hundreds* of Families, and each *Hundred* was ſubdivided into *Tythings*. The *Courts of Juſtice* were formed with reſpect to theſe ſeveral Diviſions, that is, there was a Court for each *Tything*, *Hundred*, &c. to the End *Juſtice* might be adminiſtred with leſs Charge, greater Diſpatch, and more Exactneſs.

The loweſt of theſe *Courts* was the *Tything-Court*. It conſiſted of ten Heads of Families, who were mutual *Sureties* for one another, as each of them in particular was for all that were under him *1. Every Perſon in the Kingdom *The* Tything Court.

* The *Wapentakes* are the ſame as the *Hundreds*, and not as the *Laths* or *Trythings*, as Mr. *Rapin* ſeems to think here and elſewhere. This word is ſtill in uſe North of the *Trent*.

*1 By *Ten Families* we are not to underſtand *Ten Houſe-keepers*, but *Ten Lords of Manours*, with all their *Vaſſals*, *Tenants*, *Labourers*, and Slaves, who, tho' they did not all live under their Lord's Roof were all counted part of his Family. As there were no little *Free-holders* in thoſe early Times, nor for long after, ten ſuch Families muſt occupy a large Space of Ground, and might well conſtitute a *rural Tything*. In like manner the *Town Tythings* or *Burroughs* conſiſted not of *Ten Shopkeepers* or *Traders*, but of ten *Companies* or *Fraternities*, call'd in *Saxon*, *Guilds*: Perhaps ſome more eminent than the reſt might employ great Numbers of Artificers, Hirelings or Slaves; and if we underſtand by *ten Families*, ten ſuch, we may well conceive they conſtituted

dom was regiſtred in ſome *Tythings*. None but Perſons of the firſt Rank had the Privilege granted them of their ſingle Family being made a *Tything*, for which they were reſponſible. Each *Tything* had a Preſident, ſtil'd *Tything-Man*, or *Burgh-holder*, who took Care to hold a *Court* when Occaſion required. The Method of Proceeding was as follows.

If any Perſon, accus'd of ſome Crime, refus'd to appear, the other nine *Sureties* were bound to ſee him forthcoming to *Juſtice*. If the guilty Party ran away, he was not ſuffered to ſettle in any other Town, *Burgh* or Village; becauſe no one cou'd change Habitation, without a Teſtimonial from his *Tything*, and in Caſe he was admitted without one, they that received him were puniſhed. By the Laws of King *Edward*, the *Tything* had thirty Days * allow'd them to ſearch for the Criminal. If he was not to be found, the *Tything-Man*, taking with him two of his own *Tything* and nine of the three next *Tything*, [that is, of each the chief *Tything-Man* and two others] theſe twelve purg'd themſelves by Oath of the Offence and Flight of the Malefactor. If they refus'd to ſwear, the *Tything* the Offender belong'd to was oblig'd to make Satisfaction in his Stead.

This Court frequently met, as well to decide the Differences among the Members of the *Tything*, as to concert Meaſures againſt ſuch, whoſe Behaviour created a Suſpicion

tuted *Towns* or *Burroughs*. Every *Tything* was as it were a little Republick which exercis'd a judicial Power within the Precincts of its own Territories, and differed from a *Shire* in nothing but extent of Ground and Number of Inhabitants. For as the *Earl* preſided in the general Aſſembly of every *County*, ſo there was one choſen annually out of the *Ten* to preſide in the *Tything-Court*. Theſe Preſidents were called *Sapientes*, and by the *Saxons*, *Witan*. After the *Conqueſt*, theſe preſiding Officers were made for Life, for the ſake of the *Normans*, who would not otherwiſe be choſen, and inſtead of *Wites* were call'd *Barons*, and the *ten Manours*, or *Tything* they preſided over, an *Honour* or *Barony*. But the *Town Tythings* or *Burroughs* remained on their antient Foot, and choſe their Preſident Yearly. vide *St.* Amand. Eſſ. *on* Legiſlat. Pow. *of* Eng.

* One and Thirty Days.

on of their committing ſome Crime, for which the reſt might be in Danger of incurring the Penalty. In this Caſe, the ſuſpected Perſon was oblig'd to find particular Security for his good Behaviour, which if he could not do, he was confin'd. This Court was a Terror to People of mean Condition, as they were ſure to be puniſh'd by it for any Offences they ſhould commit. Before this Court was erected, theſe Sort of People might eaſily ſhift their Quarters by reaſon of their Obſcurity, which prevented them from being taken Notice of. But it was impoſſible for them to change their Habitation, after once they were oblig'd to bring a *Teſtimonial* from their *Tything*, before they could ſettle or be regiſtred elſewhere.

Theſe ten Heads of Families, of whom the *Tything* conſiſted, were called *Free-Burghs*, that is, *Free-Pledges*, *Burgh* ſignifying, *Surety* or *Pledge*. Hence the Word *Neighbour*, which originally means a *near Pledge*. In all appearance *Burman*, which ſignifies a *Neighbour* among the *Dutch*, is derived from the ſame Source, I mean from the ſame Cuſtom which was obſerved in *Germany* and had ſerv'd for a Model to King *Alfred*. We find in *the Hiſtory of the Cuſtoms of China*, written in *Spaniſh* by *John Goncalez de Mendoſa* an *Auguſtin Monk*, that the like Cuſtom is now in uſe in that Empire. The Conformity is ſo great between the Practice of the *Chineſe* and the *Anglo-Saxons* with regard to theſe *Tythings* or *Reciprocal Pledges*, that one can't but wonder, how two Nations ſo remote from one another, and who never had the leaſt Communication, ſhould agree ſo exactly in this Point.

Hiſt. de les Ritos y Coſtumbres de la China. *l.* 3. *c.* 10.

The next *Court* was that of the *Hundred*. It was held once a Month, and had for Preſident one of the moſt noted *Aldermen* of the *Hundred*. The Biſhop or Archdeacon was oblig'd to ſit with him, in order to determine in Conjunction with the other Judges, all Matters *Eccleſiaſtical* and *Civil* relating to the *Hundred*.

The Hundred Court.

The Third Court was that of the *Trythings*, *Laths* or *Wapentakes*, according to the Name given theſe Diviſions in the ſeveral *Counties*. Here were decided the Cauſes between private Perſons, belonging to different *Hundreds*

Trything Court.

Lambard. Dugdale. of the ſame *Trything*, or *Lath*. Beſides this Court, each *Thane* of the firſt Rank, or *Baron*, held one like it, wherein he determined the Controverſies between his *Vaſſals*. From whence our preſent *Court-Baron* takes its Original.

The Shire-gemot *or* Folcmote. But when a Suit depended between Men reſiding in different *Trythings*, it was tranſmitted to the *County-Court*, called in *Saxon*, *Shire-gemot* or *Folcmote*, which was held twice a Year, or oftner if Occaſion. Herein preſided the Biſhop and the *Earl* or *Ealdorman*; but in the Abſence of the *Earl*, the *High-Sheriff*, or *Viſcount* ſupplied his Place. In this Court were regiſtred all the *Tythings* belonging to the *County*, with the Names of the Members. Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes were tried generally in the firſt Place: next thoſe the King was concern'd in, and laſtly ſuch as related to private Perſons. *William the Conqueror* diſpens'd with the Biſhops ſitting in this Court, and granted them the Privilege of holding Courts of their own for the determining Eccleſiaſtical Matters. Appeals lay from the *Tything*, *Hundred*, or *Trything* Courts, to the *Shire-gemot*. Here alſo all Perſons of what Rank ſoever were to take the Oath of Allegiance to the King.

The King's Court. How great ſoever the Power of this Court was, there was one above it, which they called the *King's Court*, becauſe the King himſelf preſided here in Perſon, or in his Abſence, the *High-Chancellor*. In this Court were examined the falſe Judgments of the inferiour Courts; and here it was apparently, that *Alfred* condemn'd to Death the four and forty Judges, as has been related in his Life. From this Court the *Common-Pleas* and *King's-Bench* derive their Original.

The Wittena-Gemot. I come now to the *Great Court* or *Aſſembly-General* of the Kingdom, called in *Saxon*, *Wittena-Gemot* or *Mycel Synod*. As there are great Diſputes about the *Exiſtence*, *Origin*, *Nature*, and *Authority* of this *Aſſembly-General*, it will be proper in this Place, to lay down the ſeveral Opinions concerning theſe Matters, with the Reaſons and Anſwers of ſuch as maintain the contrary. For my Part, as I am wholly unconcerned in all the Queſtions relating to this Subject, I ſhall content my ſelf with ſtating fairly and impartially

partially the Reaſons alledg'd on both Sides. To proceed regularly, I ſhall divide the whole into four Heads, which will comprize all that has been ſaid of Moment on this Point. 1*ſt*. The Origin of the *Wittena-Gemot*. 2*dly*. Who were the Members of this Great Council. 3*dly*. Their Authority, and the Affairs they debated. 4*thly*. Their Power in Eccleſiaſtical Matters.

I. *The* ORIGIN *of the* WITTENA-GEMOT.

THERE are ſome who are of Opinion that the *Wittena-Gemot* or *Parliament*, is of a later Date in *England* than the *Royal Power*, and that it owes its Original to the gracious Condeſcenſions of the Kings. They affirm that the Sovereigns having being pleas'd to ſummon, from Time to Time, the chief Men of the Nation, to conſult with them about important Affairs, this at laſt was turn'd into a Cuſtom: That in Proceſs of Time, the People taking the Opportunity of ſome favourable Junctures, claim'd as their Privilege, the Right of having a *Parliament*, tho' at firſt it depended entirely on the King's Pleaſure, whether he would conſult it or not. The main Reaſon they ground this their Aſſertion upon, is, that till *Edward the Confeſſor*, *England* was hardly ever, or but for a very little while together, united into one State. During the *Heptarchy*, it was divided into ſeveral Kingdoms, which made ſo many diſtinct States. Of theſe Kingdoms, *Ecbert* united but Four, whilſt the other Three remained ſeparate. Afterwards the *Danes* became Maſters of *Northumberland*, *Mercia*, and *Eaſt-Anglia*, and ſhared the Lands amongſt Them. So that from the *Saxon* Conqueſt to the ſecond *Daniſh* Invaſion, we don't find *England* was united into one Body, but only during the ſhort Reigns of *Edwy*, *Edgar* and *Edward the Martyr*. However the

I. *Opinion that the* Wittena-Gemot *is owing to the Conceſſion of our Kings.*

Government did not continue long in this Poſture. The *Danes* renewing their Ravages in the Reign of *Ethelred* II, *England* was quickly divided into two Parts, whereof One was ſubject to the *Danes*, the other to the *Engliſh*. 'Tis true indeed, after the Death of *Edmund Ironſide*, the Kingdom was united again under *Canute the Great*; but this Union ended with his Reign, and the Kingdom was once more canton'd among his Sons. In fine, they maintain, that *England* was never thoroughly united into one Kingdom till the Time of *Edward the Confeſſor*. They moreover make appear from the ſeveral Sorts of Laws, namely, the *Weſt-Saxon*, *Mercian*, and *Daniſh*, that this pretended *Heptarchical* Government is all a *Chimæra*, and conſequently the *Preſent Parliament* cannot take its Riſe from an *Aſſembly-General* of *England*, which never had a Being during the Dominion of the *Saxon* Kings.

In Anſwer to this 'tis ſaid, that they who talk after this Manner confound two Things which ought carefully to be diſtinguiſhed, namely, the *Wittena-Gemot* or *Parliament* of each of the Kingdoms in particular, and that of the ſeven Kingdoms taken together as making but one Body and one State. Tho' this laſt had never exiſted, yet might the *Preſent Parliament* for all that derive its Original from the Other. On Suppoſition that each Kingdom had its own *Wittena-Gemot*, it happened that thoſe of *Suſſex* and *Weſſex* became one and the ſame, when theſe two Kingdoms were united under *Ina*. Afterwards when *Ecbert* had annex'd to his Dominions *Kent* and *Eſſex*, the four Kingdoms of *Weſſex*, *Suſſex*, *Kent* and *Eſſex*, made but one State, and conſequently had but one Parliament. In Proportion as this Kingdom was enlarg'd by the Conqueſts of *Alfred the Great*, *Edward* and *Athelſtan*, the *Wittena-Gemot* increas'd in its Members, and at length took in all *England* in the Reigns of *Edwy*, *Edgar*, and *Edward the Martyr*. The Truth is, in the Reign of *Ethelred* II, the Wars with the *Danes* broke in upon this Regulation, and *England* was divided into two Parts. But under *Canute the Great* the Kingdom was once more united, and conſequently there was but one *Wittena-Gemot*, which was again di-

vided into Two, though but for a very little while, under *Harold* and *Hardicanute*. In fine, after *Harold*, by the Intereſt of Earl *Goodwin*, was put in Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Weſſex*, there was but one *Wittena-Gemot* in all *England* till the *Norman Conqueſt*.

To prove therefore that the *preſent Parliament* derives not its Origin from the *Wittena-Gemot* of the *Saxons*, either the Time muſt be aſſigned when Parliaments firſt began after the *Conqueſt*, or it muſt be denied that there was ever any ſuch Thing as a *Wittena-Gemot* in each of the ſeven Kingdoms of the *Heptarchy*. The former of theſe is hardly poſſible, unleſs we take up with bare Conjectures inſtead of ſolid Arguments. As for the latter, the Aſſertors of the Antiquity of *Parliaments* produce againſt ſuch as deny the Being of the *Saxon Wittena-Gemot*, ſeveral Proofs which they look upon as demonſtrative. The firſt is taken from the Title of the Laws of *Ina* King of *Weſſex*, wherein are theſe Words: *I* Ina, *by the Grace of God, King of the* Weſt-Saxons, *with the Advice of* Cenred *my Father*, Hedda *my Biſhop*, *with all my Ealdormans, Seniors, and wiſe Men of my Nation, willing to eſtabliſh good Order in the State, have ordained*, &c. Hence 'tis plain, that *Ina* in making his Laws had the Advice of the *Aſſembly-General* of *Weſſex*. That the ſame Method was eſtabliſh'd in *Mercia*, is evident from *Bertulph*'s Charter to the Abby of *Croyland*, wherein are theſe Words, *with the unanimous Conſent of the preſent Council aſſembled at* Kingsbury, *to debate on the Affairs of the Nation*.

Proofs for a Wittena-Gemot *in each Kingdom.*

In this *Charter*, after the Biſhops and Lords had ſet their Hands, the King ſubſcrib'd in this Manner: *I* Bertulph, *in the Preſence of all the Biſhops and great Men of my Kingdom*. This is a clear Evidence that the Charter was granted in the *Aſſembly-General* or *Wittena Gemot* of *Mercia*. The ſame might be made appear, with regard to each of the other Kingdoms: but, as they affirm, the Caſe is ſo evident, as not to admit of any Diſpute.

They pretend further to prove, that there was a General *Wittena-Gemot* of the ſeven Kingdoms, from the very Name of *Heptarchy*, which implies that the ſeven Kingdoms

The Proofs of a general Wittena-Gemot *of the ſeven Kingdoms.*

doms had ſomething in common, and conſequently that there was an Aſſembly, wherein their common Affairs were debated. For Inſtance, how could they elect their *Monarchs* or *Generals*, unleſs there had been an Aſſembly of the whole ſeven Kingdoms? But they alledge more direct Proofs of this Matter. Several Hiſtorians aſſure us, there was a general Aſſembly held in *Glouceſterſhire*, wherein *Ina* King of the *Weſt-Saxons* was choſen *Monarch* of the *Anglo-Saxons*, by the Intereſt of *Sebba* King of *Eſſex*, who was preſent there with all the other Kings. They produce alſo from *Ingulphus*, *Witglaph* King of *Mercia*'s Charter, where you have theſe Words: *In the Preſence of* Ecbert *King of the* Weſt-Saxons, *of* Ethelwulph *his Son, and of the Biſhops and great Lords of* England, *aſſembled at* London. Hence 'tis plain, that this Aſſembly conven'd at *London*, and conſiſting of all the Biſhops and great Men of *England*, was a general *Wittena-Gemot* of the Nation.

The Anſwer to the Objection from the Diverſity of the Laws.

In anſwer to the Objection taken from the Diverſity of the Laws then in *England*, 'tis ſaid, that it is not at all ſtrange, that *Mercia* and *Weſſex*, being two diſtict States, ſhould have different Laws; much leſs, that the *Danes* ſhould eſtabliſh their own Laws in their Conqueſts. But 'tis affirmed, one can't reaſonably infer from this Diverſity, that there was no ſuch Thing as a *Wittena-Gemot* in each Kingdom, or a general one for all the Seven. This Conſequence would be as abſurd, as if a Man, from the different Laws and Cuſtoms in the *United Provinces* of the *Low-Countries*, ſhould conclude there was neither a Convention of the *States* in each Province, nor an Aſſembly of the *States-General*.

As a Confirmation of theſe Proofs, they alledge moreover the Conformity in this Reſpect between *England* and the other *European* Kingdoms. The *Saxons* had the like Aſſemblies in *Germany*; the *Oſtrogoths*, and after them the *Lombards* in *Italy*: The *Francs* had their *Fields of Mars* or of *May*, their *Sanes*, their *Parliaments*, and the *Spaniards*, their *Cortez*.

This Conformity plainly ſhows, there was no other Form of Government then in *Europe*. 'Tis further added, that

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in order to aſſert upon good Grounds, that theſe *Aſſemblies* are not as antient as kingly Power, it muſt be made appear, who were the Sovereigns that firſt eſtabliſhed them in each Kingdom. But how came it to paſs, that all the Kings in *Europe* ſhould agree together at the ſame time, to become ſo very gracious and condeſcending to their Subjects? There is doubtleſs more reaſon to ſuppoſe they would have all join'd in aboliſhing, rather than in granting a Privilege of this Nature.

II. *The Conſtituent Parts or Members of the* WITTENA-GEMOT.

ALL agree that the *greater Nobility* were Members of the *Wittena-gemot*. By the *greater Nobility* I mean the *Ealdormans*, and *Thanes* of the firſt Rank, who were afterwards ſtil'd, *Earls* and *Barons*. But the Difficulty is to know, whether the *Thanes* of the ſecond and third Claſs, and the *Ceorles*, of whom *the Houſe of Commons* at preſent conſiſts, had a Right to ſit there by their *Repreſentatives* or not. Though this Inquiry ſeems to be of little Moment, at a time when the *Commons* inconteſtably enjoy this Privilege, yet is it not entirely needleſs to know whether they uſurp'd it, whether it was given them by the Conceſſions of the Kings, or whether it is of the ſame ſtanding with the Royal Power. How much ſoever the Right of the *Commons* in this Reſpect is at preſent out of Diſpute, there are ſome who are perſuaded 'twou'd be of dangerous Conſequence to acknowledge they had it from the Condeſcenſion of the Sovereigns, leſt the ſame Power that is ſuppoſed to have granted it, ſhould think of revoking it when a favourable Opportunity offer'd (*a*). And indeed this is the true Motive of all the Attempts that are made to prove

(*a*) This is what happen'd in the Reign of King *James* I. This Prince having often given the *Commons* to underſtand, that he thought it in his Power to revoke their Privileges, which in his Opinion had no other Foundation than the Conceſſions of his Predeceſſors.

prove that the *Commons* have not been all along in poſſeſſion of this Privilege. 'Tis but too apparent that this Queſtion has been ſtarted only to gratify ſuch of the Kings as have endeavoured to ſtretch the *Royal Prerogative* beyond its due Bounds.

Firſt Argument againſt the Commons

Be this as it will, they who maintain that the *Commons* had no Right to ſit in the *Wittena-Gemot* in the time of the *Saxon* Kings, alledge for their firſt Reaſon, that the *Under-Thanes* and *Ceorles* were not *Proprietors* of Lands. From whence they infer, that 'twould have been to no Purpoſe for the *Commons* to have a Place in theſe *Councils*, whoſe only Buſineſs was to regulate the Affairs of a Country which properly belonged to the King and the Nobility. They add, 'tis incredible that the *Nobles* of the firſt Rank ſhould agree to make their *Vaſſals* their Companions: That ſince in the Diſtribution of their Lands they were at Liberty to give them on what Conditions they thought fit, 'tis not at all probable they ſhould place the *Tenants* in the ſame Rank with the *Lords*. To render this Opinion ſtill more probable, they ſay further, 'Tis not to be imagin'd, that in thoſe Days the *People* were upon the ſame Foot as at preſent; that although they were Free, their Freedom was confin'd within narrow Bounds; that the Superiority of the Nobles over them was vaſtly greater than at this Day, and for that Reaſon the *People* were ſcarce conſider'd at all: They ſerv'd in the Wars for Foot-Soldiers, who were look'd upon as Servants. Accordingly they had the Name of *Knechten* [that is, *Servants*] given them.

Anſwer to the 1ſt *Argument.*

To this the Aſſertors of the Rights of the *Commons* reply, That ſince the *Nobles*, who held their Lands of the King, had a Right to a Place in the *Wittena-Gemot*, the *Commons*, who held their Lands of the *Nobles*, might very well have the ſame Privilege alſo. The Reaſon alledg'd in the Objection not holding good againſt the Lords, ought not to be of any more Force againſt the *Commons*. They add, that the main Buſineſs of the *General Council* was the making Laws as well for the *People* as for the *Nobility*; the ſettling the Rights of the Subjects, the preſerving Peace in the State, and the raiſing Taxes, whereof the

People

People paid the greateſt Share. Hence they infer, that 'twas very natural, and extremely conſonant to the Cuſtom of the *Saxons*, that the *People* ſhould give their Conſent to all theſe things, wherein they were no leſs concerned than the *Nobles*. They ſay further, that if the *People* aſſiſted not in the Debates of the *Great Council*, 'tis not to be conceiv'd whence ſhould proceed the great Care of ſecuring their Rights and Liberties, and of preventing their being oppreſs'd by the *Grandees*. 'Tis well known that Men, eſpecially the *Great*, are not wont to labour ſo heartily to leſſen their Power, but much rather to exert their utmoſt to increaſe their Authority.

But as this Point, which is a Matter of Fact and not of Right, is not to be determined by bare Reaſonings, both Parties endeavour to ſupport their Opinions by more ſuitable Proofs, namely, by Authorities. To this End they pretend to make good their reſpective Aſſertions from certain *Terms* made uſe of in the *Charters* of the *Anglo-Saxon* Kings, and from certain Expreſſions in the Hiſtorians who ſpeak of the Government in thoſe Days. 'Twill be neceſſary therefore to produce ſome of theſe Proofs, that the Reader may the better underſtand the Point in Queſtion, and be enabled to paſs a Judgment on the Reaſons alledg'd by both Sides. I ſhall begin with what is urged againſt the *Commons*, or their *Repreſentatives*, being Members of the *General-Aſſembly*.

In the firſt Place it is ſaid, that the very Name of *Witena-Gemot* plainly proves that the *Great Council* conſiſted only of ſuch as were ſtil'd *Wittan*. Now 'tis affirmed that the preciſe Meaning of that Word is *Majores Natu*, *Seniores*, *Ealdormen*, by which are underſtood the *Earls* and *Barons*, or in the Language of the *Saxons*, the *Ealdormen* and *King*'s *Thanes*, *Eccleſiaſticks* and *Laics*. To make this appear, a Paſſage is cited out of *Bede*'s *Eccleſiaſtical* Hiſtory as tranſlated by King *Alfred*. *Bede* ſays, that King *Oſwald* applied to the *Majores Natu* of *Scotland* for a Biſhop; and *Alfred* has render'd the Terms *Majores Natu* by *Ealdormen*. The ſame Hiſtorian ſaying in the ſame Place, that *Oſwald* made uſe of *Suis Ducibus & Miniſtris* for Interpreters, Bede, *l.* 3. *c.* 3.

preters, *Alfred* has tranſlated theſe Words by, his *Ealdorman* and *Thanes*. Hence they would infer that the Term *Wittan* is to be underſtood only of *Ealdormen* and *Barons*, or in general, of the *chief Men* of the Nation. And accordingly conclude, that the *Wittena-Gemot*, or *Aſſembly of Wiſe Men*, conſiſted only of ſuch. They further confirm this their Explanation of the Word *Wittan* by the Hiſtorians rendring it in *Latin* by *Principes*, *Optimates*, *Proceres*, *Magnates*, *Duces*, *Comites*, *Præpoſiti*, *Miniſtri Regis*, *Nobiles*, *Milites*, which can by no means be underſtood of the *People*, or their *Repreſentatives*.

Anſwer to this Proof. They who are of the contrary Opinion, alledge, in their Turn, the ſame Authorities to prove the *greater Nobility* was not alone ſummoned to the *National Council*. They pretend that theſe very Expreſſions on which their Adverſaries ground their Opinion, are not to be ſo reſtrained to the *Nobility*, as not to be alſo applicable to the *Magiſtrates* and *chief Men* among the People. To make good what they advance, they cite numberleſs Paſſages from the *Latin* Authors, wherein the Words *Principes*, *Nobiles*, *Milites*, are to be taken in their Senſe.

Reply of the Firſt. To this the Others reply, that the Word *People* may be underſtood in two different Senſes; firſt as it ſignifies a Nation in general, in which Senſe they own that by *Magnates*, *Proceres*, *Nobiles*, &c. may be meant the *chief Men* of the People, or of the whole Nation. The other Senſe of the Word *People* is more reſtrained, and ſignifies only a Part of the *People*, as ſeparate or different from the *Nobility*, as when one ſays, the *Nobles and People*. This is the meaning they contend for, and to which it muſt be prov'd that the *cited* Paſſages can be applied. Now this is what they look upon as impoſſible, affirming there is no ſuch thing to be met with in the *Latin* Authors, as *Optimates Plebis*, but always *Populi*, that is, of the People in general. But tho' it were true, that theſe Expreſſions did ſometimes denote the *chief Men* among the *People*, as diſtinguiſhed from the *Nobility*, yet 'twould ſtill remain to prove, that, in the alledg'd Paſſages, the Word *People* muſt be taken in that Senſe, unleſs

unleſs they would take for granted the very thing in diſpute.

But to this Aſſertors of the Rights of the *Commons* anſwer, That they readily agree theſe Expreſſions are principally to be underſtood of *Noble* Perſons; but affirm withal, their Meaning is not to be confined to the *Nobles* of the firſt Rank. They ſay, that although in *England*, the *greater* Nobility, ot *Peers of the Realm*, are a diſtinct Order from the *leſſer*, who are reckoned among the *Commons*, it does not follow that the *Latin* Expreſſions are to be explain'd by a Diſtinction no where elſe to be met with. For Inſtance, in *France*, the loweſt *Gentilhomme* belongs as much to the Nobility, as the higheſt Lord, the *greater* and *leſſer* Nobility making but one and the ſame Body.

Remark on the foregoing Proofs.

One is concerned to ſee an Inquiry of this Nature reduc'd to a *Grammatical* Diſpute. But as I have undertaken to lay down the Arguments made uſe of on both Sides, I thought my ſelf obliged not to omit the foregoing Ones taken from the Meaning of certain Terms. However it ſeems to me, that in what hath hitherto been ſaid, one Side plainly proves that the *great Lords* had a Right to ſit in the *Wittena-Gemot*, which no body ever denied. But I can't ſay it neceſſarily follows from what they alledge, that the *Commons* were excluded, which was the Point in Queſtion. On the other Hand, what the other Side urges, tends rather to prove that the Reaſons for the Excluſion of the *Commons* are not ſatisfactory, than to make appear directly that they had a Place in the *Wittena-Gemot*. Let us therefore proceed to another ſort of Arguments, which are alledg'd in favour of the *Commons*.

Another Argument for the Commons.

The firſt is taken from *Henry of Huntingdon* the Hiſtorian, who, ſpeaking of the depoſing of *Sigebert* King of *Weſſex*, has theſe Words: *King* Sigebert *growing incorrigible, the* great Men *and* People *of* Weſſex *aſſembled together in the Beginning of the Second Year of his Reign, and depos'd him with unanimous Conſent.* They pretend that in this Paſſage, *the People* being put in Oppoſition with the *great*

Men, can mean none but the *Commons*, and conſequently they gave their *Votes* in the *General Aſſembly*.

This Explanation is ſupported by a Paſſage out of another Hiſtorian, who ſays; *In the Reign of* Edward the Elder, *were aſſembled the Biſhops, Abbots, the faithful Subjects* or *Vaſſals, the* great Men *and the* People, *in the Kingdom of* Weſſex. 'Tis affirmed, that by the *Fideles* or *faithful Subjects*, which may be explain'd by *Vaſſals* or *Liege-Men*, are to be underſtood the *People*, as diſtinct from the *Nobles*, ſince in this Place the *Fideles* and the *People* are actually diſtinguiſh'd from the *great Men*.

To theſe Authorities they add another from *Ethelwulph*'s Charter of Tythes, where it is ſaid, *Theſe Things were granted by the* King, Barons *and* People.

All theſe Proofs are confirm'd by two *Charters*, the firſt whereof is that of King *Ethelred*, in Favour of the Abbey of *Wolverhampton*, which concludes with theſe Words: *Theſe are the Decrees of* Sigeric *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *in the Court held before King* Ethelred, *the Archbiſhop of* York, *the Biſhops, Abbots, Senators, the Chiefs and People of the whole Country*.

The other granted by *Edward the Confeſſor* to the Abbey of *Weſtminſter*, runs thus: *I have ordered therefore this Charter of my Donation to be read on the Day of the Dedication of the ſaid Church, in the Preſence of the Biſhops, Abbots, Earls and great Men of* England, *and in the Sight and Hearing of all the People*.

Anſwer againſt the Commons.

But the Oppoſers of the *Commons* pretend to invalidate the Force of all Arguments drawn from Paſſages of Hiſtorians and Charters ſeveral ways. In the firſt Place they obſerve that the greateſt Part of theſe Hiſtorians lived when the *Commons* ſat in *Parliament*, and therefore it is no wonder when they ſpeak of the *Anglo-Saxon* Affairs, they ſhould repreſent Things as they were in their own Times. In the ſecond Place, they ſay, that nothing can be inferr'd from any Expreſſions in theſe *Charters*, becauſe they were not originally writ in *Latin* but in *Saxon*. Conſequently the *Latin* Quotations from thence are only Tranſlations, the Faithfulneſs whereof can't be judg'd of, without confronting

ing them with their *Originals*, which 'tis impoſſible to do, ſeeing they are all loſt. For Inſtance, 'tis certain that the *Saxons* never made uſe of the Term *Baron*, which was brought in by the *Normans*, and yet we find it in the abovemention'd *Charters*. In the third Place, they farther ſay, that ſome of the Paſſages alledged only make it appear, that the Determinations of the *Wittena-Gemot* were tranſacted in the Sight of the People, who perhaps ſhow'd they were pleaſed with what was done by their Shouts and Acclamations. But they affirm this is no Proof that the *People* gave their *Votes*, or that their Conſent was neceſſary, ſince they ſtood by only as Witneſſes. This manifeſtly appears, ſay They, from the aforeſaid *Charter* of *Ethelwulph*, which runs thus: *There were preſent the Archbiſhops, and Biſhops of* England, Buthred *King of* Mercia, Edmund *King of* Eaſt-Anglia, *and abundance of Abbots, Abbeſſes, Dukes, Earls, and great Men of the whole Kingdom, and of other Faithful Subjects, a great Multitude, who all approved of this Royal Act, to which the dignified Perſons ſubſcribed their Names.* They pretend that ſince the *great Men* only ſign'd the *Charter*, their Approbation alone was neceſſary. Beſides, what can be the Meaning of *a great Multitude of Faithful Subjects*? Was it the whole Body of the People? This They won't ſay, who maintain that the *Commons* ſat in the *Wittena-Gemot* by their *Repreſentatives*, as they do at this Day. And indeed this *great Multitude* can't well be applied to a limited Number of *Repreſentatives*, but may very aptly be us'd to denote *Crowds of People*, got together to ſhout and make Acclamations. In fine, 'tis remarked, that in all the forecited Paſſages, a forc'd Meaning is given to the Term, *Fideles*, when made to ſtand for the *Repreſentatives* of the *Commons*, ſince that Word is applicable to all Subjects in General, as well to the Body of the *Nobles* as of the *People*.

Another Argument for the Commons.

To come therefore to more direct Proofs, the Favourers of the *Commons* alledge other Paſſages, wherein they pretend the Meaning of theſe Terms is fix'd to the *Repreſentatives* of the People, by the Word *Procuratores*. In a *Charter*

ter * dated 811 it is ſaid, that *Cenulph* King of *Mercia* aſſembled in order to dedicate the Monaſtery of *Winchelcomb*, *the great Men of the Kingdom*, *the Biſhops*, *Procuratores*, &c.

Anſwer. To this it is anſwered, That this was only a Dedication of a Church and Monaſtery, in order to which *Cenulph* had called together abundance of People, and particularly ſuch as were diſtinguiſhed by their Birth or Offices. But ſuppoſing it to have been a real *Wittena-Gemot*, the Term, *Procuratores*, is too undeterminate to denote the *Repreſentatives* of the *Commons*, unleſs it be join'd with ſome other Word that fixes its Signification.

Reply for the Commons. In order to this, a *Charter* is produc'd by the other Side, wherein they maintain that the Term, *Procuratores*, muſt be underſtood of the Repreſentatives of the People. This *Charter* granted by King *Athelſtan* *1, concludes thus: *Granted at the Royal Vill* Ætwelope, *in the Preſence of the Biſhops*, *Abbots*, *Dukes*, *Earls*, *and* Patriæ Procuratoribus. Now, ſay they, who can theſe *Patriæ Procuratores* be, but the *Repreſentatives* of the People? But they who are of the contrary Opinion, ſay, this is only a bare Conjecture, which can be of no Force, unleſs it be made appear that it was a common Expreſſion at that time.

The Anſwer.

The laſt Argument for the Commons. *Laſtly*, 'Tis alledg'd in Favour of the *Commons* (which is a ſtronger Argument than any of the foregoing Ones) that there are now ſeveral *Hamlets* *2, which ſend *Repreſentatives* to Parliament, a Right they muſt needs have had in the Time of the *Saxon* Kings, when there were *Cities* or *Burroughs* of Note: Since 'tis very improbable they ſhould have this Privilege granted then after they were become ſo mean and deſpicable.

To

* In the *Annals of Winchelcomb* in the *Cottonian* Library.

*1 To the Abbey of *Abington* in 931, which Charter is entered in the great Regiſter that belonged to that Abbey, and is now in the *Cottonian Library*.

*2 Of which Sort are *Gatton* in *Surry*, and ſeveral Burroughs in *Devonſhire* and *Cornwal* and other Counties.

To evade the Force of this Argument 'tis replied, that it is nothing worth, unleſs it be prov'd that theſe *Burroughs*, now become *Hamlets*, were gone to decay before the *Conqueſt*. They add likewiſe, that this would not be ſufficient, ſeeing 'tis very poſſible they might have been rebuilt and deſtroyed again during the Civil Wars *England* was ſo often troubled with, after the *Commons* were in Poſſeſſion of the Right of ſending *Repreſentatives* to Parliament. *The Anſwer.*

To all theſe Arguments alledg'd in Behalf of the *Commons*, 'tis added in their Favour, that in all the other States in *Europe*, the People had a Share in the *General Aſſemblies*. Tho' I have hitherto done no more then barely laid down the Reaſons urg'd on both Sides, I can't forbear obſerving of this Laſt, however without any Deſign of weakening the Reſt, that it is alledged without any Grounds. Which I ſhall make appear, at leaſt with regard to *France*, by the Authority of three Writers, who are look'd upon as throughly vers'd in the Cuſtoms of that Kingdom.

The firſt is *Mezeray*, who diſcourſing of this Subject, has theſe Words, *I meet with three Sorts of Aſſemblies in thoſe Days; The* General Courts *of the Provinces; the* Champs de Mai, *at which were preſent the* Seniores *and* Majores Natu *of the People, where Military Affairs were chiefly debated; and the* Conventus, Colloquia, Parliaments, *where the Biſhops, Abbots and other Great Men met to make Laws and regulate Matters relating to the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, the Civil Government, and the Publick Revenues,* &c. *Theſe two laſt Aſſemblies were confounded one with another.* In the Opinion then of this Hiſtorian, none but the *great Men* were Members of the *Parliaments*. But ſince, it may be objected that by the *Seniores* and *Majores Natu* that were preſent at the *Champs de Mai*, are to be underſtood the *Repreſentatives* of the People, let us ſee what Preſident *Fauchet* ſays upon this Head. Mezeray *Abſtract,* &c. *of the Cuſtoms of* VIII Cen*tury.*

This learned Hiſtorian mentions a certain Speech that was ſhown him as made by *Bonniface* Archbiſhop of *Mayence*, wherein that Prelate told *Pepin*, that the *Gauls, omnium* Fauchet's *Antiquities of* France, *L.* VI.

um Ordinum, of all *Orders* and *Degrees*, had given him the Crown. *This Harangue*, ſays that Author, *is moſt certainly a Forgery. Firſt, becauſe the* Francs *never called themſelves* Gauls. *Secondly and principally, becauſe of the Words*, omnium Ordinum; *for at that time they never talk'd either of Orders or Degrees, none but Biſhops, Abbots, Earls, Nobles, having a Place in the General Courts or Parliaments, and the Earls, Commiſſioners or Delegates, laid before the* Aſſembly *the Complaints of the People in their reſpective Territories.*

Paſquier, Recherches, &c. l. 2. c. 7.

Paſquier, the third Writer, whoſe Authority I would alledge, expreſſes himſelf ſtill more plainly and fully in this Matter. His Words are theſe: *Altho' ſome, who pretend to be well vers'd in the* Hiſtory *of* France, *are of Opinion that the* Aſſembly *of the States-General is of a very long ſtanding, and found the Liberties of the People upon it, yet is neither the one nor the other true. I am ſenſible, and ready to own, that formerly in* Gaul, *and before the* Conqueſt *of* Julius Cæſar, *there were* General Aſſemblies, *which were continued by him under a Pretence, familiar to the* Romans, *of leaving us in the Poſſeſſion of our antient Rights and Liberties. But in all theſe* Aſſemblies *you'll find none of the Common People, whom they looked upon but as ſo many* Cyphers. *In like manner, you'll meet with, under the firſt and ſecond Families of our Kings, ſolemn Conventions which they called* Parliaments, *the Principal* Sinews *of our* Monarchy. *But to theſe were ſummoned only the Princes, Great Lords,* Nobles *and Dignified Churchmen. Now in our* Aſſemblies *of the three Eſtates, not only the Common People have a Place with the* Clergy *and* Nobility, *but what is more, make the greateſt and beſt Part. Whence is it then that within ſome Centuries of Years the Commons have had a Right to ſit in our Conventions, wherein are debated the Affairs relating to the Good of the Nation in general; This is what I ſhall account for.* After this he proceeds to lay down the Reaſons of the *Common People* being firſt called to their Parliaments, and fixes the Original of it to the Time of *Philip le Bel*, who began his Reign in 1286. Theſe are the Teſtimonies of three Writers of great Judgment, and thoroughly vers'd in the

the Hiſtory of *France*. So far therefore are we from being able to alledge in favour of the *Commons of England*, what was formerly practis'd in *France*, that on the contrary this Precedent makes entirely againſt their Right.

Remark on this Diſpute.

After having ſeen the Arguments made uſe of *For* and *Againſt* the Antiquity of the *Commons* Right to ſit in *Parliament*, one can't but be ſurprized that both Sides ſhould be forc'd to argue from bare Conjectures, and the Meaning of certain Terms in the Tranſlations of the *Charters*. One would think that in a Matter of this Nature each Side ſhould produce Arguments that had a little more Solidity in them. However this be, the Reader may now judge of this Matter from what has been ſaid, wherein I don't know that I have omitted any thing of Moment, of what has been alledged *Pro* and *Con*, tho' I have done it in a very compendious Manner.

Obſervation concerning the Charters.

But as the greateſt Part of the Arguments, in the preſent Diſpute, are taken from the *Charters* of the *Anglo-Saxon* Kings, I ſhall make one Remark, which ought to be conſider'd before one paſſes Sentence: And that is, that the Authority of all theſe *Charters* is call'd in Queſtion by ſuch as are moſt vers'd in the *Engliſh* Hiſtory. The Reaſon they give for it, is, that in the time of the *Anglo-Saxons*, the uſe of *Charters* was unknown in *England*. When the King made a grant of any Thing to the *Church*, or to any private Perſon, he put them in Poſſeſſion by delivering into their Hand a *Green Turf*, *Bough*, or the like. *Formerly*, ſays Ingulphus, *Poſſeſſion of Lands was given by bare* Words *without any* Charters *or other* Writings. *They only delivered to the Donee or Purchaſer, a Helmet, Sword, Horn, Cup, ſometimes a Spur, Bow, Arrow*, &c. From this Cuſtom they infer that the *Charters*, alledg'd as granted by the *Anglo-Saxon* Kings, were all forg'd long after their Time. But as it might ſeem ſtrange, that there ſhould be now in Being ſo many *Charters* bearing Date before there was any ſuch thing in uſe, they advance a Matter of Fact, which, if true, lets us into the Reaſon of ſuch Numbers being forg'd. They aſſure us, that *William the Conqueror* finding that great Part of the *Crown Lands* was alienated,

Hiſtory of Croyland.

particularly to the Monaſteries, ſummoned the Abbots to appear at his Court, and produce the *Titles* by which they held their Eſtates. Some of them who had nothing to Plead but a long Poſſeſſion, being outed of their Lands, becauſe the King would allow no *Title* good, but what was in Form, abundance of Monks ſet about forging *Charters*, to which they gave all the Marks of Truth they could. Some produc'd them in *Latin*, but theſe were rejected, on account of the little Probability there was that the *Saxon* Kings ſhould make uſe of a Language, little underſtood and ſtill much leſs us'd in their Time. But whether this be true or not, 'tis however certain, that ſeveral of thoſe *Charters*, which ſome would put off for *Authentick*, were forg'd, and that long after the *Date* they bear. At leaſt it would be a very difficult Matter to make appear, that thoſe, from whence the Arguments, to decide the preſent Diſpute are taken, were made in the Time of the *Anglo-Saxons*.

From all that has been ſaid, it appears that this is a very intricate Caſe; and there is no likelihood of its being ever ſet in a clearer Light. Almoſt all the *antient Monuments*, whereby the Difficulties in this Matter might be unravell'd, were buried in the Ruins of the Monaſteries, either before, or after the *Norman Conqueſt* *.

III. The

* As there are no *Saxon* Monuments older than the Eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, and but little Light to be had from thoſe that are after, Recourſe muſt be had to Inference from thoſe few Truths that are known, in order to diſcover who were the Members of the *Saxon Legiſlature*. Now the moſt probable *Hypotheſis* ſeems to be this. Power reſults from and is the natural Conſequence of *Property* or *Eſtates*, and in all Places where Tyranny does not prevail, the Perſons who compoſe the *Legiſlature*, derive that Power from the Intereſt they have in ſome Lands, or elſe from ſome Diſtinction of *Rank* and *Order*, which diſcriminate the Members of a Society. As therefore our *Saxon* Anceſtors in their own Country, did all perſonally meet for the enacting Laws; ſo after their coming into *England* all to whom the Land was apportion'd perſonally aſſiſted in the *Saxon* Parliaments, which were held at firſt during the *Heptarchy* in open Places capable of receiving all that had a Right to be there, becauſe there were no *Minute* Freeholders in thoſe early Days. By the *Feudal* Law all *Landholders* were oblig'd to attend at the *Feudal* Courts, and had a Right to give their Aſſent or Diſſent to any Laws or Orders there propoſed; Whence we yet retain the

the Expreſſion of the *Convention of the Eſtates*. After the Union of the Seven Kingdoms, when the Exerciſe of the *Legiſlative* Power in the Perſon of every individual became impracticable by Reaſon of their Remoteneſs and Number, ſome Change in the outward Form was neceſſary in order to preſerve the Common-wealth on the ſame Principles it was at firſt eſtabliſhed; and as the whole Kingdom was divided into ſo many little Republicks or *Tythings*, ſome Perſon out of every *Tything* or *Burrough* came to the *Wittena-Gemot* to take care of the Concerns of the Society he belonged to: Theſe were called *Witen* or *Wiſemen*, and were no other than the Preſiding Judge or *Gereſa* of every *Tything*, who was annually choſen, both in the *Rural* and *Town Tythings*. As therefore the *Earls*, *Biſhops*, and *Abbots* (who were the preſiding Judges in the Communities both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, that the People were originally divided into) were undoubtedly Members of the *Wittena-Gemot*, ſo it is reaſonable to think that the *Witan* (who were the preſiding Judges in the leſſer Communities that were afterwards made) were ſo too. For it was but natural when every Individual could not appear in Perſon, that the Delegate or Repreſentative of each Community ſhould be the Perſon, to whom they had by their own free Choice given the Precedency amongſt themſelves. Hence 'tis plain that the *Commons* or *Landholders* were ever a Part of the *Legiſlature*; becauſe tho' the Earls perhaps might not be Elective or annual Officers, after the Diſſolution of the *Heptarchy*, as they were before, yet the *Graves* of the *Tythings*, who were elective, being Members of the *Saxon Wittena-Gemot*, the *Commons* remained a conſtituent Part of the *Saxon Legiſlature*. Hence the *Ceorls* (who were the ſame as our Farmers, only paying their Rent in Corn, Hay, *&c.* inſtead of Money) and alſo the *Thanes* (who had Lands aſſigned them by the King or Great Men in recompence for their Service, and in lieu of Wages, and conſequently were no more than Part of the Family of him they had their Lands of) were not Members of the *Wittena-Gemot*, except ſuch *Thanes* who held their Lands of the Crown for their Service which related to the Publick. (See Note *p.* 156.) A *Wittena-Gemot* then was no other than an Aſſembly of all the preſiding Judges of the Nation, Earls, Biſhops, and *Wites*, or the annual Magiſtrates of the *Tythings* and *Burroughs*, who repreſented all the Proprietors of Land in their reſpective *Tythings*. Thus Matters ſtood till *the Conqueſt*. King *William* I. having aſſumed the Regal State as his own by Right, treated all that had oppoſed him as Rebels, and diſpoſſeſſing them of their Lands, diſtributed them amongſt his own Confederates, who held them of the Crown by the Service of a determined Number of Soldiers, in Caſe of an Invaſion or a Rebellion, and they enfeoffed their own immediate Followers with ſome Portions of what was aſſigned to them, under reſervation of ſuch Service. Theſe Lands were called *Knight's Fees*. (Each *Fee* was about 20 *l.* a Year then, which is equal to 4 or 500 now). As the *Normans* were much inferior to the *Engliſh* in Numbers, their Buſineſs was to ſecure all the Power they could in their own Hands. Accordingly over moſt of the Tythings was plac'd a *Norman* Chief, whoſe Power was to be the ſame as the *Saxon Gereſa*, with this Difference, that it

was to be *Hereditary*. These Chiefs were called *Barons*, and their Estates *Baronies* or *Honours*. The Conqueror to undermine the Power of the *Saxon* Earls, which he could not safely destroy, dismember'd the Barons Estates in a manner from the Counties, and made them recognize no Superior but the Crown. By which means there was no difference between an Earl and a Baron, but only in Extent, the Power of both (which was exceeding great) being the same over their Vassals. As for the *Burroughs* they were left in the same Condition as in the *Saxon* Times, and governed by annual Magistrates of their own chusing. The Conformity then between the *Saxon Wittena-Gemot* and *Norman Parliaments* stood thus. The *Ecclesiasticks* and *Earls* were the same in both; the *Burroughs* were represented in both by one of their own chusing, who was stil'd *Burgoss* instead of *Wite*, probably because the Magistrate was not always chosen Representative; and as the *Saxon Wites* or presiding Judges of the *Tythings* were Members of the Legislature, so were the *Norman* Chiefs or *Barons*, with this Difference only, that as the first had their Right by Election and for a Time, the others had theirs in Succession. And as the *Saxon Wites* serv'd for their *Tythings*, so the *Barons* were intended by Law to serve for the Tenants of their Baronies, which is the Reason why they were exempted from contributing to the Wages of the Knights of the Shire. Thus every Spot of Land was still represented; for as every Part was within some *Tything* in the *Saxon* Time, so in the *Norman* every Part of the whole Kingdom was within some *Barony* or some *Burrough*. Things continued upon this solid Foundation during the Reign of *William Rufus* and *Henry* I. But the *Barons*, who were so many petty Princes, being divided in the Civil War betwixt *Stephen*, *Maud* and *Henry* II. each Party treated those of the other Side as Rebels, which brought the Possession of much Land to the contending Princes. And as each Side had experienc'd the Power of the Barons over their Vassals, and having besides many Friends to renumerate, they split the *Baronies* into smaller *Tenances in Chief*, who all held immediately of the Crown. Hence arose the Distinction of *Fees of the old Feoffments* and *Fees of the New*, and also of the *greater* and *lesser Barons*. By granting thus small *Fees* in the Reigns of *Stephen*, *Henry* II. and King *John*, Tenants in *Capite* or Barons, were so multiplied, that a very unequal Representation of the Kingdom arose, these *lesser Barons* having an equal Share in the Legislature with the most potent. This Grievance being grown to the greatest Height, when King *John* was reduc'd to Reason, there was a Clause inserted in his *Magna Charta*, whereby all the *greater Barons* were to be severally summoned to Parliament, and the *lesser* in general, by which means these last were excluded from sitting in Parliament singly and in Person; but however the being summoned in general, gave them a Right to do this as a Community and by Representation; and as these *lesser Barons* were co-ordinate in Rank, the Right of representing them naturally devolved on such of their Body as the rest conferred it on. The Persons so chosen, were call'd from the *Tenure* of their Lands,

Lands, and from their repreſenting the reſpective Counties for which they ſerv'd, *Knights of the Shire*. Theſe were to be choſen at the *County-Courts*, where none but the immediate Tenants of the Crown (the *leſſer Barons*) came, and none other had Votes till by the 8th of *Henry* VIth all Freeholders of 40 Shillings *per Annum* had a Right to Vote at the Election of *Knights of the Shire*. Thus we find both before and after the Conqueſt all Proprietors of Land had a Share in the Legiſlature. See more in St *Amand*'s Eſſay on the Legiſlative Power.

III. *The Authority of the* WITTENA-GEMOT, *and the Affairs therein debated.*

THERE is no handling this Subject as it ſhould be, without entering into an Examination of the three following Queſtions, about which there are as warm Diſputes as about the foregoing One.

I. In whom was lodg'd the *Legiſlative Power*? whether in the *King*, in the *great Council*, or in both together?

II. Whether the King had a Power to tax the People without the Conſent of the *Wittena-Gemot*.

III. Whether the *General-Aſſembly* had a Right to elect and depoſe the Kings?

The Higheſt Aſſertors of the Royal *Prerogative*, affirm that the *Legiſlative Power* wholly reſided in the King. As a Proof of this, they appeal to the Terms made uſe of by the *Saxon* Kings in their Laws, by which they ſeem to declare themſelves the *Sole* Enactors, without leaving the leaſt Room to believe, that the *General Aſſembly* had any Hand in the Matter. To this it is anſwered, tho' there is no mention in theſe Laws of the Conſent of the *great Council*, it does not follow therefore, that their Concurrence was not neceſſary; no more than it can be inferr'd at this Day

I. *In whom was lodg'd the* Legiſlative Power.

Day from our saying *the Statutes of King* Charles I. or, *of King* Charles II. that These *Statutes* were enacted without the Consent and Authority of *Parliament*. If we were to take in their *literal* Sense all the Expressions made use of in speaking of and to the King, we should without doubt attribute greater Power to him than he is actually invested with. But in order to give more direct Proofs, that the Authority of the *Wittena-gemot* was necessary in making Laws, several Authorities are produc'd, by which they pretend to make appear, that the Kings acted nothing in this Respect without the Consent of the *Estates*.

The first is taken from the Title of the *West-Saxon* Laws of King *Ina*, where it is said that they were enacted with the *Advice* and *Consent* of the *Bishops*, *Great Men*, *Earls*, *Wise-men*, *Seniors and People* of the whole Kingdom.

Ecbert says in one of his *Charters*; *I* Ecbert, *King of the* West-Saxons, *with the Permission* * *and Consent of our whole Nation, and unanimous Advice of all the Great Men*, &c.

But seeing it may be objected, that this is a *Charter* and not a *Law*, the Testimony of King *Alfred* is alledg'd, who, in the Title of his Laws, speaking as if he acted by his *sole* Authority, concludes with these Words; *I* Alfred, *King of the* West-Saxons, *shew'd these Laws to my* Wise-men, *and They said*, they All lik'd, *or*, were pleas'd, *they should be observ'd*.

At the End of King *Athelstan*'s Laws, we have these Words: *All these Things were confirm'd and ordain'd by a General-Assembly or Synod held at* Graetly, *at which was present Archbishop* Elfin, *with all the* great Men *King* Athelstan *could assemble together*.

The Title of several other Laws made by this King runs in this Manner: *These are the Laws that were instituted by the* Wise-men *at* Exeter.

Much the same Expression is prefix'd before the Laws of *Edgar* and *Ethelred* II.

In

* *Cum Licentiâ & Consensu.* Great Register of *Abindon* before-mentioned.

In a Charter of *Canute the Great* * we have these Words: *I* Canute, *King of the whole Island of* Albion, *and many other Nations, by the Advice and Decree of the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls, and all my other faithful Subjects, have ordain'd*, &c. This Authority is of the greater Force, because *Canute* came to the Crown by Right of Conquest, and consequently 'tis not at all probable he would have sought the Concurrence of the *Estates*, had he not found it customary so to do.

In a word, 'tis affirmed, that if some of the Kings express themselves in such a Manner as would induce one to believe they acted by their *Sole* Authority in making Laws, their Words are not to be understood in a *literal* Sense. The Reason is, because these Expressions are explain'd and limited by those of some other Kings, who own'd that they acted in Concert with the *Wittena-Gemot*. Now there is no likelihood that Sovereign Princes would ever acknowledge their Power to be bounded, if it was not so in reality. If any one will insist upon this sort of Expressions, which seem to imply that the Kings made Laws without being tied to the Consent and Approbation of Parliament, one may by the same Method prove, that the King at this very Day is invested with an absolute Power in this Respect. And indeed, in some certain *Acts*, which are laid before him by the *Parliament*, he says, *that he wills and requires*, although it is well known that His *Will* would be of no Force, unless preceded by the *Consent* of the *Two Houses*.

The same Reasonings and Reflections are made use of with regard to the second Question, or the *Imposition of Taxes*. If it seems in some Places as if the *Saxon* Kings rais'd Money by their own Authority, we are to understand this was not done till the Consent of the *Estates* was first obtain'd, as we find upon several other Occasions. II. *Raising Taxes*,

I shall not insist here on the Third Question, concerning the Electing and Deposing of the Kings, because I in-

* To the Abbey of St. *Edmundsbury* now in the Office of the King's *Remembrancer* of the *Exchequer*.

I intend to treat of these Points under the Article of the Succession.

IV. *The Authority of the* WITTENA-GEMOT *in Ecclesiastical Matters.*

BEFORE the *Anglo-Saxons* embraced the Christian Religion, one of their Fundamental Constitutions, (which *Tacitus* ascribes also to the antient *Germans*) was, that all important Affairs relating to the whole Nation, were brought to the *General Assembly*, where they were debated in common, to the End they might be settled with the unanimous Consent of All that had a Right to vote there. 'Tis no wonder therefore that *Matters of Religion* were regulated in their *Wittena-Gemots*, as I have elsewhere observ'd, since they are of the greatest Importance to Mankind. Accordingly, *Edwin* King of *Northumberland*, being desirous, after his Conversion, to establish the Christian Religion in his Dominions, went not about it till he had consulted his *Wise-men*, that is, his *Wittena-Gemot*, as *Bede* relates it. The Maxim, that no Laws are binding but what the whole Nation has consented to, has all along been look'd upon in *England* as the Foundation of Liberty, and the Basis of Government.

Ecclesiastical Affairs may be distinguish'd into two sorts. First, such as related to the *Clergy* alone, as making a distinct Body from the *Laity*. These were left to the sole Management of the *Ecclesiasticks*, who held their *Councils* or *Synods*, where the *Laity* had nothing to do. *Secondly*, such as concerned the Body of the People, as *Christians*. These were regulated in the *mixt Councils*, consisting of the chief Men of the *Clergy* and *Nobility*. In proceeding thus, they did no more than follow the Rules of Equity. They

They did not think it juſt to enact *civil* Laws, that were obligatory to the *Clergy* as Members of the State, without their Concurrence. On the other Hand, they believed it unreaſonable that the *Clergy* ſhould have a Power of making *Eccleſiaſtical* Laws that were binding to the *Laity* as Chriſtians, without the Conſent of the *Wittena-Gemot* or *Repreſentatives* of the Nation. They acted, in both theſe Reſpects, from the ſame Principle, namely, that no Man was bound by any Laws, to which he had not given his Conſent, either by himſelf or by his Repreſentative. Hence it is, that the *Wittena-Gemots* were for the moſt part *mixt Aſſemblies*, wherein were ſettled all important Affairs as well *Eccleſiaſtical* as *Civil*, and that their Authority was the ſame in *Spirituals* as *Temporals*.

Wittena-Gemot *was a* mixt Aſſembly.

To be convinc'd of this, one need only caſt an Eye on the Laws of the *Anglo-Saxons*, where we find a perpetual Mixture of *Eccleſiaſtical* and *Civil* Laws. I ſhall produce a few Inſtances, which ſeem to me to put this Point out of Diſpute. In the Year 673 a Council was conven'd, wherein preſided *Theodore* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Ten *Canons* of the antient General Councils were aſſented to, as hath been related in the State of the Church of that time. But this Aſſembly was not purely an *Eccleſiaſtical Synod*; for beſides the Biſhops, *all the Kings and great Men of* England *were preſent*, as an Hiſtorian relates it. And therefore 'twas a *mixt Council*, a *mycel Synod*, a *real Wittena-Gemot*. We muſt take care not to be led into an Error by the Word *Council* or *Synod*, which at preſent are us'd to denote an *Aſſembly of Eccleſiaſticks*; whereas in the Time of the *Anglo-Saxons* theſe Terms were not underſtood in ſo reſtrained a Senſe, but ſerved to expreſs all ſorts of *great Aſſemblies*. Whoever carefully examines into the Nature of theſe antient Aſſemblies, which by Hiſtorians are called *Councils*, he will find that they were *mixt* Conventions, from their being ſubſcribed, approved and aſſented to, by the Kings, Princes, and great Men there preſent. In the Reign of *Edward the Elder*, an Aſſembly was held, wherein the Articles of a Treaty were ſettled between that Prince and *Guthurm*, to whom *Alfred* had given *Eaſt-Anglia*,

Proofs of it.

M. Weſt.

which certainly was a State-Affair, if there was ever any ſuch thing. And yet, by this very Aſſembly, were enacted ſeveral *Eccleſiaſtical* Laws, which in the Preamble are called *Senatus-Conſulta*, becauſe they were made by the *Witan*, that is, by the great Men of *Weſſex* and *Eaſt-Anglia*. Among theſe Laws, beſides ſeveral that were purely political, there are ſome with theſe Titles, *Of Apoſtates, Of the Puniſhment of ſuch as are in Orders, Of Inceſt, Of Faſts*, &c. From whence it is manifeſt, that theſe political Aſſemblies made Laws relating to Religious Matters. An Hiſtorian ſays, that King *Athelſtan* convened a *Council*, in which many Laws both *Eccleſiaſtical* and *Civil* were enacted: Conſequently this was not an Aſſembly of *Churchmen*, ſince no one ever pretended that the *Clergy* had a Power to make *Secular* Laws.

The Wittena Gemot *often elected the Biſhops*; Heddi vir. Wilf. *c.* 11. *p.* 46.

But this is not All. It is made appear by ſeveral Inſtances, that the *Wittena-Gemot* elected and deprived the Biſhops. *Wilfred* Biſhop of *York*, whom I have had frequent Occaſion to mention, was elected by the two Kings of *Northumberland*, and the General Council of that Kingdom, as the Author of his Life relates. *Erkenwald* Biſhop of *London* was elected with the Conſent of King *Sebba* and the Advice of all the People. *Wulſtan* was made Biſhop of *Worceſter in Curiâ*, that is, in the great Aſſembly, which was called *the Court*, or *the King's Court*. *Ingulphus* Abbot of *Croyland* ſpeaks in this Manner of the Elections of Biſhops and Abbots: *For many Years paſt, there was no Election abſolutely free and canonical: But all* Eccleſiaſtical *Dignities were conferred by* the King's Court, *according to their good Pleaſure* *.

And deprived them alſo.

As the *Wittena-Gemot* was concern'd in the *Election*, ſo was it alſo in the *Deprivation* of Biſhops. Of which I ſhall give the following Inſtances. *Brithelm* Biſhop of *Dorcheſter*, having been promoted to the *See* of *Canterbury*, *Edgar*, who had a mind *Dunſtan* ſhould be Archbiſhop, got *Brithelm*

* After which the Perſon ſo elected being firſt conſecrated, the King inveſted him with the *Temporalities*, by the Delivery *Baculi*, & *Annuli*, as you may ſee by the ſame Author.

Brithelm to be ſent back to his former Biſhoprick. How this was done we are informed by *Osbern* the Monk, who wrote the Life of *Dunſtan*: *Within a few Days after* Brithelm *had been made Archbiſhop, not thinking himſelf fit for ſo great a Charge, he departed to the Church he had lately left, by the Command of the King and People.* Another Hiſtorian relates this Matter in the Manner following: Edgar *made* Brithelm *deſcend the ſame way he got up: for a Council being convened for this very Purpoſe, he objected ſeveral Articles againſt* Brithelm, *and by the Order and Conſent of his Barons, ſent him back to the Cure of his former Church of* Dorcheſter. *Brithelm* therefore was both elected and deprived by the Authority of the *Wittena-Gemot*. In the Reign of *Edward the Confeſſor*, *Robert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was outed of his *See* by a Decree of the *Wittena-Gemot*, and *Stigand* being elected in his Place, the *Papal* Power could neither procure this Election to be annull'd, as long as the Dominion of the *Saxons* laſted, nor prevent the *Engliſh* from acknowledging *Stigand* as their lawful Archbiſhop, tho' ſuſpended by the *Pope*.

Jo. Wallingford.

Theſe Inſtances make appear, that the *Wittena-Gemot*, or *Mycel-Synod* was an *Eccleſiaſtical* and *Political* Aſſembly at the ſame Time, and that all Affairs relating to the *Church* and *State* were indifferently debated there. 'Twas not till long after, when the *Papal* Authority was grown to a great Height, under the *Norman* Kings, that the *Clergy* claim'd the Privilege of debating apart all Matters that in any wiſe related to Religion, in *Eccleſiaſtical Aſſemblies* or *Synods*.

I ſhall now proceed to ſpeak of the *King* in particular, his *Prerogatives*, *Revenues*, and *Succeſſion* to the Crown.

Of the KING.

The Power of the King was bounded.

I Have already obſerved, that the *Saxon* Government in *Germany* was *Ariſtocratical*, and that they had only a *Superior* or *General* who commanded their Armies in time of War. The *Saxon* Leaders erected their ſeveral Conqueſts in *Great-Britain* into Kingdoms, and aſſumed the Title of King. But however, they were conſider'd at firſt by their Subjects upon the ſame Foot with their Governors in *Germany*, whoſe Power was far from being *Deſpotical*. Notwithſtanding ſome will have it that the Right of Conqueſt gave theſe firſt Kings an *unlimited* Power, from whence it would follow, that the Privileges of the *Engliſh* Subjects are either *Conceſſions* of the Kings, or *Uſurpations* of the People. This Argument, drawn from the Right of Conqueſt, might have been of ſome Weight, if the Privileges of the *Britons*, who were ſubdued, had been the Point in Queſtion. But the Buſineſs in hand is the Privileges of the *Saxons* or *Engliſh*, who were themſelves the Conquerors, and over whom the Conqueſt gave no Power to their Kings. I ſay, we are to conſider here the *Saxons* only, ſince there remained in the Country they became Maſters of but very few *Britons*, who were looked upon but as ſo many Slaves. Seeing then it can't be ſaid that the *Anglo-Saxons* loſt any of their Rights by the Conqueſts they made, we are to conſider them in the ſame State they were in before in *Germany*, that is, as a free Peop'e under the Conduct of their Head or Chief, whoſe Power was limited by Law.

There is no doubt but that in *England*, as well as in all the other Kingdoms, the Royal Authority by Degrees exceeded the Bounds at firſt preſcribed. But the Hiſtory of the *Anglo-Saxons* being very imperfect, there is no giving a particular Account of this Matter. I muſt therefore content my ſelf with laying down in general ſome of the chief *Prerogatives* the *Anglo-Saxon* Kings enjoyed during their Dominion, which laſted above 600 Years, without

without being able ſo much as to obſerve the Alterations they may have undergone in that long Interval.

One of the moſt conſiderable of the King's *Prerogatives* was the Power of appointing the Earls, Viſcounts, Judges and other Officers as well *Civil* as *Military*. Some however aſſert, that the Military Poſt of the *Dukes* or *Holds* of each Province were conferr'd by the *Shire-Gemot*, or Aſſembly of the County. 'Tis very probable, 'twas in the Power of the King to change theſe Officers according to his Pleaſure, of which we meet with ſeveral Inſtances in Hiſtory. But after all, one cannot be ſure of it, becauſe when one finds that ſuch an Officer was turn'd out by the King, it does not neceſſarily follow, that it was done without the Conſent or previous Sentence of the *Wittena-Gemot* *.

Another great *Prerogative* of the Crown, was that the Laws made in the *Wittena-Gemot* were of no Force without the *Aſſent* of the King, to whom was committed the *Executive* Power.

The King had alſo Power to pardon Malefactors. But as Offences may be conſider'd under a double View, namely, as they relate to the Publick, or as being prejudicial to ſome private Perſon, the King could only pardon them in the firſt Reſpect. The King's Pardon prevented not the offended Party from demanding Satisfaction for the Wrongs he had received. This Satisfaction was called in *Saxon*, *Wiregeld*, that is, a Compenſation, that was to be made to the injur'd Party or his Friends and Relations. Hence without doubt is derived the Cuſtom in *England* at this Day, of the Wife's or Son's appealing in Caſes of Murders.

For

* As the Earls in thoſe Days held their *Earldoms* of the *Community*, and not of the King, there is no doubt but they were both made and turn'd out with the Conſent of the *Great Council*. But as a Body Politick can't act it ſelf, when any particular Act is to be done, the Execution thereof naturally devolves on the King as Lord or Head of the great Seignory of the Kingdom. And therefore when he is ſaid to make or put out an *Earl*, the Aſſent of the *Wittena-Gemot* is always to be ſuppoſed. For *Feudal Earls* (and all were ſo in thoſe Days) could not be made without the Conſent of the *Peers*.

For the ſame Reaſon alſo this Clauſe is uſually inſerted in Pardons. *Ita tamen ut ſtet rectò in curiâ noſtrâ, ſi quis verſus eum loqui voluerit.*

The Coining of Money was another of the King's Prerogatives, which he could grant by *Charter* to whom he pleas'd, as we find ſeveral of the *Saxon* Kings did to the two Archbiſhops and others. But the King had not the Power of enhancing or debaſing the Coin. The *Mirror of Juſtices* recites it as an old Law, that the King could not change the Money or make other Coin than of Silver, *without the Conſent of all the Counties.*

It is uncertain, whether it was abſolutely in the Power of the *Saxon* Kings, *to make War* or *Peace*, without the Conſent of the *Wittena-Gemot*. 'Tis true indeed, the Power of making War was, as it is now, of little Conſequence, ſince the King could not raiſe Money to carry it on, without the Conſent of the Eſtates. But as for making Peace, the Caſe is quite different, ſince on a *good* or *bad* Peace, depends the Safety of a whole Kingdom, as hath been too often experienc'd. And therefore, theſe two *Prerogatives*, which are commonly join'd together, widely differ in their Conſequences. It lies in the People's Breaſt, whether they'll contribute to the Wars the King is pleas'd to enter into of his own Accord, and by refuſing their Concurrence, have it in their Power to prevent the Miſchiefs that an unjuſt or unneceſſary War might occaſion. But how ſhall they hinder the Effects of a pernicious Peace, concluded without their Knowledge?

The King's Revenues. The King's Revenues were divided into three Branches. The firſt conſiſted in certain Things, which the State furniſh'd him with for the Maintenance of his Houſhould, as Corn, Hay, Cattle and the like, which were uſually paid in Kind. The ſecond Branch was the Produce of certain *Demeſnes* or Lands annex'd to the Crown, which were deſign'd to ſerve for publick Uſes, it not being in the Power of the King to grant away any Part of them, not even to the *Church*, without the Conſent of the *Eſtates*. Hence it is that we find the antient *Charters* of the *Saxon* Kings to the *Churches* or *Monaſteries*, confirm'd by the principal Members

bers of the general Aſſembly, who ſign them in this manner. *I. N--- have ſubſcrib'd, confirm'd, approv'd, corroborated,* &c. One can't well doubt, but this Branch of the King's Revenue was applied to publick Uſes, when one conſiders, that ſo late as the End of the fourteenth *Century*, in the Reign of *Richard* II, the *Parliament* order'd, that for the future the Revenues of the King's *Demeſnes* ſhould go towards defraying the Charge of the Wars he ſhould be engag'd in. The third Branch conſiſted, as at this Day, of certain Taxes or Impoſts, which were laid from Time to time on the People upon urgent Occaſions, by the Authority of the *Wittena-Gemot*.

We don't find that during rhe *Heptarchy*, the Kings affected any *ſwelling* Titles, as ſome did afterwards. They were all contented with the Title of King of their reſpective Kingdoms; and the Prince who was elected *Monarch* did not imagine he had a Right to diſtinguiſh himſelf upon that Account. *Ecbert* himſelf, even after his Sovereignty over the Seven Kingdoms, made no Alteration in his former Title of *King of the* Weſt-Saxons. *Athelſtan* was the firſt that ſtil'd himſelf, *Imperator*. *Edmund* was ſatisfied with, *Rector & Gubernator Angliæ*. *Edgar* called himſelf, *King of the whole Iſland of* Albion. *Canute the Great* aſſumed the Title of *King of* Albion *and many other Nations*. Some affected a *Greek* Title, as *Edgar*, who ſtiles himſelf, *Totius Angliæ Baſileus*.

The Coronation of the Kings.

As for the Coronation of the *Anglo-Saxon* Kings, there was no Time fix'd for this Ceremony, either during the *Heptarchy*, or after the Union of the Seven Kingdoms. They were crown'd when they thought it moſt convenient. Before *Ecbert*, the Kings of *Kent* were crown'd by the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*: The Kings of *Northumberland* by the Archbiſhops of *York*; and the reſt commonly by the Biſhop of their Capital. After *Ecbert* had united the *Heptarchy*, or at leaſt four of the Kingdoms, into one, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* claim'd the Privilege of crowning the Kings; but this Pretenſion of his was founded only on a Cuſtom, which tho' uſual, was not for all that neceſſary. Accordingly we find after the Union,

on, that ſeveral Kings were crown'd by the Archbiſhops of *York*, or even by other Biſhops. Some will have it that *Harold* put the Crown on his own Head himſelf. *Sweyn*, the firſt *Daniſh* King, was not crown'd at all, and yet he was own'd for King. *Edgar* reign'd ſeveral Years in *Weſſex* before he was ſolemnly crowned. *Edward the Confeſſor*'s Coronation was not perform'd till ſix Months after he was proclaim'd. The delaying thus this Ceremony is a clear Evidence, they did not *then* look upon it as abſolutely neceſſary. And therefore they who date the Beginnings of the Reigns from the *Coronation-Days*, only breed Confuſion in *Chronology*, out of a miſtaken Nicety. This way of reckoning is ſo much the more ſubject to Error, as there were ſeveral Kings who repeated the Solemnity of their Coronation at different Times; for Inſtance, *Cerdic* firſt King of *Weſſex*. This Ceremony was not at firſt perform'd in a Church, but in the open Air. Thus 'tis expreſſly ſaid by the Hiſtorians, that *Athelſtan*, *Edmund* and *Edred* were crowned in an open Place *.

Form of the Crown.

As for the Form of their Crowns, it was not over-curious, at leaſt it was not uniform, as may be ſeen from a great many Impreſſions of *Heads* of the *Saxon* Kings, given us by *Camden* and *Spelman* *1. Some have only a *Diadem* of Pearls. Others a *Coronet* with ſix *Rays* or *Points*, with *Flower de Luces* between, or *Pearls* upon them. *Edward the Confeſſor* has an *Imperial Crown*. The Variety ſhows, that in *England* as well as in other Places, there was not then any ſettled Form for the Crowns, but that each Prince pleas'd his own Fancy *2.

The

* They were crown'd in the Market: Place of *Kingſton* upon *Thames*.

*1 Theſe Impreſſions were taken from old *Saxon Coins*.

*2 *Tyrrel* looks upon it as a Fiction in them who will needs have it that *Alfred* was crown'd with a Crown wrought with *Flower de luces*, becauſe ſuch a Crown was kept among the *Regalia* at *Weſtminſter* before our late Civil Wars. (See Note. *p.* 346. *Vol.* I.) The Inſcription, *Hæc eſt*, &c. being in all probability put on the Box wherein it was kept by ſome Monk of after-Times, to give the greater Air of Antiquity to the Crown.

The SUCCESSION *to the CROWN in the Time of the* ANGLO-SAXONS.

THERE are three different Opinions in this Matter. The firſt is, that the Crown was all along *Hereditary*, as well during the *Heptarchy* as afterwards. The ſecond, that the Crown was always *Elective*, and in the Diſpoſal of the People; ſo that altho' the Son ſucceeded the *Father*, it was however by *Election*. The Third, that the Crown was neither *Hereditary* nor *Elective*, but that the Kings had the Power of giving it by *Will* to any one of their Sons or Relations, whom they thought moſt worthy. But how confidently ſoever each aſſerts his Opinion, one plainly ſees, 'tis much harder to eſtabliſh any One of the Three, than 'tis to combat the other Two. This Difficulty ariſes from our imperfect Knowledge of the Hiſtory of the *Anglo-Saxons*, and perhaps from their not proceeding regularly Themſelves in this Matter. The Arguments made uſe of by each Party in Defence of their Own, and againſt the Opinions of their Adverſaries, are as follow. *Three Opinions concerning the* Succeſſion.

The firſt tell us we need only run over the Hiſtory of the *Heptarchy*, to be convinced that in each of the Seven Kingdoms, the Crown remained in the Family of the firſt Kings, as long as there were any *Male Heirs* in Being. And that after the Union of the Seven Kingdoms, there was no Alteration in this Reſpect, the Race of *Ecbert* ſitting on the Throne down to *Edward the Confeſſor*. 'Tis true indeed the *Daniſh* Kings are to be excepted: but as They intruded themſelves by Force of Arms, nothing can be inferred from thence againſt the Crown's being *Hereditary*. *Proof of the Crown's being* Hereditary.

They who believe the Crown was *Elective*, ground their Opinion upon the ſame Hiſtory, by making appear from *Proof that it was* Elective.

from thence, that the *Lineal Succeſſion* from Father to Son was not always preſerved. And indeed, they bring inconteſtable Inſtances of the King's Brother often ſucceeding before the King's Sons, and of diſtant Branches of the Royal Family being preferred before the neareſt; whence they conclude, that this was occaſioned by the Right of *Election* being in the People. They farther add, that altho' the Son ſucceeded the Father, ſometimes even for ſeveral Generations, it does not neceſſarily follow, that the Crown was *Hereditary*, no more than it does, that the *Imperial* Crown of *Germany* is ſo, becauſe it has continued two Hundred and fifty Years * in the *Houſe of Auſtria*. To ſupport their Opinion concerning the Right of Election, they alledge ſeveral Paſſages out of the Hiſtorians, who ſpeaking of the Kings that ſucceeded their Fathers, uſe this Expreſſion, *electus eſt in Regem*. *He was elected King*.

Anſwer. To this the Others reply; That indeed it happened at ſome certain Junctures, that Fraud and Violence took Place: But however, the *Lineal* Succeſſion, tho' broken for ſome Time, preſerved its Rights, ſince quickly after we find things were reſtored to their former State. I think it needleſs to produce the Inſtances both Sides ground their Aſſertions upon. Beſides their having been related in the Hiſtory, the Reader may eaſily refreſh his Memory by caſting his Eye on the *Genealogical Tables* of the *Anglo-Saxon* Kings, where the Succeſſions are marked down in Order. As for the Expreſſion in Hiſtorians, *He was elected*, they ſay, that theſe Words are to be found only in Authors who wrote long after the Time we are ſpeaking of, and who made uſe of them without conſidering the Conſequences, ſeeing they were not treating expreſsly of this Matter. Beſides, they pretend that theſe Authors have not rightly tranſlated the original Terms in the *Saxon Annals*, *Feng to Rice*, which properly ſignifie, *Regnum Capeſſit*, *he took upon him the Kingdom*.

They

* Ever ſince *Ferdinand* Brother to *Charles the Fifth*, about 167 Years.

They who are of the third Opinion, alledge againſt the firſt, that the Crown was not therefore *Hereditary*, becauſe it continued a long time in one Family, as is plain from the Inſtance above of the *Houſe of Auſtria*. To the ſecond they object, that after having proved the Crown was not *Hereditary*, their Inference from thence, that it was *Elective*, is not juſt, ſince there is another way, which excludes the other two, namely, that the Kings diſpos'd of the Crown as they thought fit. To confirm this their Opinion, they alledge the Example of *France*, where they pretend, that the Kings, even as low down as ſome of the ſecond Royal Family *, have enjoy'd the Privilege of diſpoſing of their Dominions, and that this is the Reaſon that Kingdom was ſo often divided. For, *ſay they*, if it had been the eldeſt Son's Right to have always ſucceeded his Father, 'tis not to be conceived, that the younger Brothers ſhould have been ſo frequently up in Arms to compel their elder to ſhare the Kingdom with them. On the other hand, they obſerve, that had the Crown of *France* been *Elective*, 'tis not at all likely, that the *French* would have always elected as many Sovereigns, as the former King had left Sons. From all which they conclude that the frequent *Partitions* during the firſt and ſecond Royal Families, were made ſolely by this Diſpoſing Power of the Kings. Agreeable to this is what *Mezeray* ſays, ſpeaking of *Aribert* King *Dagobert*'s Brother. His Words are theſe: *But as* Aribert *was young, and as the King his Father perhaps had left him no Share of his Dominions in his* Will, *it was to no purpoſe that* Bernulph, *his Mother's Brother, endeavoured to perſwade the* Neuſtrians *to riſe in his Favour.* This Cuſtom eſtabliſhed by the *French* from the founding of their Monarchy, as they pretend to have proved, is doubtleſs a good Argument that the *Anglo-Saxons* did the like, ſeeing they lived at the ſame time, and came as well as the *Francs* from

That the Crown was diſpoſed of by the King.

* The Crown of *France* has been enjoy'd by 3 Royal Families, 1ſt the *Merovians*, begun by *Pharamond* and ended in *Childeric* III. 21 Kings. 2*d*. the *Carolinians* from *Charles Martel* to *Lewis* V. 14 Kings. 3*d* begun in *Hugh Capet*, of which there have been 31 Kings.

Germany, in the ſame *Century*. But if 'tis objected, that we don't find then in *England* any Inſtances of the like Partitions in the Kingdoms of the *Heptarchy*, they reply, that there were ſome, tho' not many. The Kings of the *Heptarchy*, who were but *Petty* Princes in Compariſon of the King's of *France*, took care not to divide their Dominions, for otherwiſe there would ſoon have been as many Sovereigns as Cities. However there were ſome of them that did ſo; For Inſtance, *Penda* King of *Mercia*, placed in his Life-time *Peda* his eldeſt Son on the Throne of *Leiceſter*, he having erected that City and the adjoining Country into a Kingdom. *Ethelred* his Son and Succeſſor, gave *Merowald* his Brother Part of his Dominions, with the Title of King of *Hereford*; which little Kingdom *Merowald* left to his Brother *Mercelm*. *Oſwy* King of *Northumberland*, gave the Kingdom of *Deïra* to *Alfred* his Natural Son, as *Ethelwulph* did the Kingdom of *Kent* in his Life-Time to *Athelſtan*. For a further Confirmation of this Opinion, they produce *Ethelwulph*'s Will, wherein he bequeathed his Dominions in ſo abſolute a Manner to his four Sons, that they were to ſucceed one another, whether they left any Heirs or not, which was accordingly done. Theſe are the Arguments alledged in Proof of the third Opinion: but however they have not remained unanſwered.

Anſwer. It is ſaid that thoſe Princes, who were crowned in their Father's Life-Time, were properly but ſo many *Viceroys*: and that they who, contrary to the eſtabliſh'd Order, ſucceeded by Virtue of a *Will*, were not admitted to the Throne but by the Authority, or at leaſt, with the Conſent of the *Eſtates*, which carries with it a Right of Election in the Subjects.

But it is more difficult to give an Anſwer to the Argument drawn from the Proceedings of *Canute the Great*, who towards the latter End of his Life, took all imaginable Care to act nothing that might give the *Engliſh* any Occaſion to dread he had a Deſign to make any Innovations in the Government. 'Tis well known, this Prince annull'd his Marriage-Articles with *Emma of Normandy*, by making

ing his *Will*, and appointing *Harold* his Succeſſor, inſtead of *Hardicanute*, who by the Marriage-Contract was to have been Heir to the Crown. This ſeems to prove, that it entirely lay in the King's Breaſt to chuſe his Succeſſor. 'Tis true, after his Death Diſputes aroſe in this Affair; but however that be, it appears at leaſt, that this Prince thought he had a Power of diſpoſing of the Crown by *Will*. The ſame thing may be ſaid of *Edward the Confeſſor*. Whether this Prince actually made a *Will* in favour of the Duke of *Normandy*, or whether he deſign'd it only, or whether he gave him no more than a bare *Verbal* Promiſe, it may be inferred from thence, that he imagined he had a Right to ſettle the Succeſſion by that Method.

Theſe are the Reaſons alledg'd to ſupport the three Opinions in this important Inquiry. I call it important with a View to thoſe who really think it ſo. For my Part, I can hardly be perſuaded that there is any Neceſſity of having Recourſe to the Cuſtoms of the *Anglo-Saxons*, as a Standard for thoſe that are to be followed at this Day.

The three Opinions may be united.

'Twould not perhaps be impoſſible to form an Idea of the *Anglo-Saxon* Government, with regard to the *Succeſſion* by uniting the three foregoing Opinions. It ſeems to me that from all the Reaſons before recited, it may be inferred in favour of the firſt, that the Crown was *Hereditary* in the Family of the *Saxon* Kings, as well during the *Heptarchy*, as after the Union of the Seven Kingdoms. In favour of the ſecond it may be granted, that upon extraordinary Emergencies, the *Wittena-Gemot* conſidering it ſelf as the *Supreme* Legiſlator, aſſum'd an abſolute Authority, and went out of the uſual Road. With the third it may be ſaid, that the Kings had a Power of nominating their Succeſſor, provided, when they had a mind to go out of the common Way, which was to prefer the next in Blood, they took care to have their Choice confirm'd by the *Great Council* of the Kingdom. This is the Reaſon why thoſe Kings who were not the next in Blood never fail'd of making the beſt of the *Conſent of the Eſtates*, that they might by that rectify the Irregularity in their Acceſſion to the Throne. This is what we ſee alſo in *Alfred*'s Will, at the End of his Life pub-

publiſh'd by *Spelman* *. By uniting thus the three Opinions, the Rules for ſettling the *Succeſſion* in the Time of the *Anglo-Saxons*, will be found to be much the ſame with thoſe at preſent. It is confeſt, the Crown is *Hereditary*. But however, this prevents not the *Parliament*, in extraordinary Caſes from claiming the Power of breaking the *Line*, and ſettling the *Succeſſion* on a more diſtant, to the Prejudice of a nearer Branch of the Royal Family. Of this the Hiſtory of *England* ſince the *Conqueſt* furniſhes us with many Inſtances and *Precedents*, without inſiſting on thoſe of our own Times. If 'tis objected that all do not allow the King and Parliament to have a Right to ſuch a Power, it may be replied, that till the contrary is determined by a Lawful Authority, 'tis reaſonable to preſume that this Power is rightfully lodg'd in the Nation. According to theſe Principles, they who labour to prove that the Crown was *Elective* in the time of the *Anglo-Saxons*, don't ſeem to do any great Matters in favour of the *Parliament*, which claims not a Power to alter the Succeſſion but on certain Occaſions. On the other Hand, they who undertake to prove that the Crown was *Hereditary* at that time, do not greatly Prejudice the Authority this *Auguſt Body* aſſumes only in extraordinary Caſes. As for them who endeavour to prove that the *Saxon* Kings had an abſolute Power to diſpoſe of the Crown, ſince, in all appearance, they don't pretend that the preſent Kings of *England* have any ſuch Power now, they ſeem to me to debate a Queſtion that has more of Curioſity in it than Importance.

* *Ego* Ælfredus——*totius, Weſt-Saxoniæ Nobilitatis* Conſenſu *paritu & Aſſenſu, Occidentalium Saxonum Rex*, &c. Whence it is manifeſt, that though he was nominated in his Father's Will to ſucceed his Brothers, yet he was *Elected* or at leaſt *Confirm'd* by the *Great Council* in the Poſſeſſion of the Crown, ſo bequeath'd to him by his Father. And therefore it is plain, that though the King had the Power to diſpoſe of the Crown by *Will*, yet it could not be done without the *Conſent* and *Aſſent* of the *Eſtates*.

Of

Of the LAWS of the ANGLO-SAXONS.

DURING the *Heptarchy*, there were no Laws common to all the Seven Kingdoms; but each had its own in particular. It is very likely however, that these Laws were much the same, since the Inhabitants of the Seven Kingdoms came from one Original. But there is nothing certain in this Matter. The first Laws we have any Knowledge of, are those *Ethelbert* King of *Kent* enacted about the time of the Conversion of the *Saxons*. We have likewise *Ina*'s King of *Wessex*, and *Offa*'s King of *Mercia*; and there is no doubt but some of the other Kings made Laws, tho' they are not come down to us. *Several sorts of Laws.* Bede, l. 2. c. 3.

After the Union of the *Seven* Kingdoms, *Egbert*'s Successors farther explain'd or extended the Law already establish'd, or made new ones. The most famous are those of *Alfred the Great*, taken, as he himself says, from the best he could meet with, and particularly from *Ina*'s and *Offa*'s above-mentioned. *Edgar*, with such Additions and Emendations as he thought fit, caus'd the Laws of *Alfred* to be strictly observ'd. But it must be remembred, that when *England* was divided into two Kingdoms, *Wessex* and *Mercia*, each had their Laws apart, and that *Canute the Great* got those the *Danes* had introduc'd into *Northumberland* and *East-Anglia* to be approv'd by the General-Assembly. There were therefore in *England* three Kinds of Laws, the *West-Saxon*, *Mercian* and *Danish*, till *Edward the Confessor* united them all into one Body *. As I propos'd *Laws of* Alfred. *Of* Edgar. *Three sorts of Laws.*

* See what Bishop *Nicolson* says of this threefold Distinction of the Law in the Note at *p.* 39. To which may be added here the Opinion of *Spelman*. "Our *Saxons*, tho' divided into many "Kingdoms, yet were they all one in Effect, in Manners, Laws "and Language; so that the breaking of their Government into "many

pos'd only to give a general Notion of the Governmen of the *Anglo-Saxons*, my Deſign is not to enter into a particular Account of all theſe Laws. I ſhall content my ſelf with relating ſome Circumſtances, which ſeem to me to merit the Curioſity of ſuch as are Strangers to the *Engliſh* Conſtitution.

The Laws were divided into two Kinds, *Civil* and *Criminal*. The firſt concern'd the *Lands* or *Eſtates*, which were of two Sorts, *Bocland* and *Socland*. *Bocland* was much of the ſame Nature with the *Lands* we call *Allodial* *. It was *free* and *Hereditary*, which the Owner might diſpoſe of, tho' he held it in *Fee* of a ſuperior Lord. This was properly what is elſewhere called, *Feudum honoratum*. This ſort of *Land* was poſſeſs'd by the *Nobles* and moſt conſiderable among the People. *Socland* was poſſeſs'd by the *Ceorls*, and holden of the Lord by payment of a certain annual Rent, and performance of

" many Kingdoms, or the reuniting of their Kingdoms into a " Monarchy, wrought little or no change amongſt them touching " Laws. For though we talk of the *Weſt-Saxon-Law*, *Mercian-* " *Law*, and *Dane-Law*, whereby the ſeveral Parts of *England* " were govern'd: yet held they All an Uniformity in Subſtance, " differing rather in their *Mulcts* than in their *Canon*; that is, in " the Quantity of *Fines* and *Amerciaments*, than in the Courſe " and Frame of Juſtice. *Reliq. Spel.* p. 49.

* The *Northern* Nations neither incorporating nor deſtroying the Inhabitants in their Conqueſts, divided the Land into three Parts; one they left to the old Poſſeſſors, the other two they took themſelves. Theſe Diviſions are called by the Writers of thoſe Ages, *Sortes Gothicæ*, and *Sortes Romanæ*, in *Italy*. The *Francs* proceeded in the ſame manner in *Gaul*. What they took to themſelves was term'd *Terra Salica*, the reſt was called *Alodium*, from the negative Particle *A* and *Leud*, which ſignifies in *Teutonick*, Perſons link'd by *feudal Tenures*, who only had a Share in the *Legiſlature* So that *Allodial* Lands were ſuch as were not ſubject to *feudal* Duties; yet before Tenants were oppreſſed, the Term *Allodarij* was a Term of Reproach, as it diſcriminated the *Vanquiſhed* from the *Victors*. Tho' their Land was at firſt free from all *Service*, many Poſſeſſors for their better Security gave their *Allodial* Lands to the Chiefs of great Lordſhips to take them back under *feudal Tenures*. Others, without diveſting themſelves at all of their antient Poſſeſſion, plac'd themſelves under ſuch Superiors, and then came in uſe the Phraſe *tenere in Allodio*, frequent enough in our *Doomſday Book*, and in foreign Writers; for all Protection and Subjection was ſuppoſed then to be founded on *Tenure*. St. *Amand*. p. 26, 27.

of certain perſonal *Services*. This ſort of Land is the ſame with what is call'd a *Rural Fief*. I don't think it neceſſary to enquire here into the Original of *Fees* *, which would lead me too far, and beſides would contain nothing peculiar to *England*. I ſhall only ſay, that *Selden* is of Opinion, that *Fees* derive their Origin from the *North*, and from thence paſs'd into *Germany*, *Italy*, *France*, *Spain*, *England*, where the *Northern* Nations ſettled. It would alſo be too long a Digreſſion from my preſent Purpoſe, to recite all the Laws, which concern'd the Poſſeſſion of the two ſorts of *Lands* before-mentioned, eſpecially ſeeing theſe are Matters which few People underſtand. 'Tis ſufficient to have given a general Idea of them, and therefore I ſhall proceed to what is much more intelligible, the *Criminal* Part of the Laws.

The Criminal Laws. Juries.

By the Regulations of *Alfred the Great*, all Perſons accus'd of any Crime were to be tried by their *Peers*. This Privilege, which the *Engliſh* have preſerved to this Day, is one of the greateſt a Nation can enjoy. It ſcreens the *Small* from the Oppreſſion of the *Great*, and from the *Caprice* or Paſſion of the King himſelf, of which there have been ſeveral Inſtances in *England*. But as the Term *Peers* may not be rightly underſtood by many Readers, it will not be amiſs briefly to explain the Meaning of that Word. 'Tis to be obſerved, that in *England* there are but two Degrees or Orders of Men, namely, the *Peers of the Realm*, and the *Commons*. *Dukes*, *Marquiſſes*, *Earls*, *Viſcounts*, *Barons*, *Archbiſhops* and *Biſhops*, are *Peers of the Realm*, and *Peers* among themſelves; ſo that the loweſt of the *Barons* is the *Peer* of the higheſt *Duke*. All the reſt of the People are ranked with the *Commons*. By which Means the meaneſt *Artificer* is the *Peer* of All below the Rank of a *Baron*. When therefore it is ſaid, that every one is tried by his *Peers*; the Meaning is, that the *Peers of the Realm* are judged by thoſe of their own Order, that is, by the other Lords; and one of the Commonalty, by ſuch as belong to the Body of the *Commons*, who in this Reſpect

* See *Note*, p. 141.

are his *Peers* or *Equals*, how much ſoever they may differ with regard to their *Birth* or *Fortune*. There is however this Difference between the *Peers of the Realm* and the *Commons*; every *Peer of the Realm* has a Right to vote at the Tryal of another *Peer*, whereas the *Commons* are tried by no more than twelve Perſons of their own Rank, whoſe *Verdict* reaches no farther than the Matter of Fact; that is, theſe twelve Perſons after having been preſent at the publick Examination of the Witneſſes for and againſt the Party accus'd, only bring him in *Guilty* or *not Guilty* of the Crime laid to his Charge; after which, the Judge condemns or acquits him according to Law. Such is the Privilege the *Engliſh* have all along enjoyed ever ſince the Time of King *Alfred*. And perhaps this Prince only revived a Cuſtom eſtabliſhed by the *Saxons* Time out of Mind *.

Means of diſcovering the Truth.

When the Crime was not clearly proved, or when there was not ſufficient Evidence to condemn, or acquit the Perſon accuſed, they made uſe of ſeveral Means, by which they thought they ſhould be able to diſcover the Truth.

By Oath.

The firſt was by *Oath*, which the Party ſuſpected was obliged to take, in order to clear himſelf from the Crime laid to his Charge. But his ſingle Oath was not ſufficient. He was to bring with him a certain Number of Perſons who were [and ſtill are] called *Compurgators*, who ſwore alſo to his Innocence.

Ordeal-*Tryals.*

The ſecond Means was by *Ordeal*, *1 that is, Trial by *Fire* or *Water*. The Trial by *Fire* was performed two Ways.

* Sir *William Temple* ſays, Traces are not wanting of this Cuſtom, from the very Inſtitutions of *Odin* the firſt Leader of the *Aſiatick Goths* or *Geta* into *Europe*, and Founder of that mighty Kingdom round the *Baltick Sea*, from whence all the *Gothick* Governments in theſe *North-Weſt* Parts of the World were derived. This is the Reaſon that it is known to have been as antient in *Sweden* as any *Records*, or *Traditions* of that Kingdom, and ſtill remains in ſome Provinces. The *Normans* introduced the Terms of *Jury* and *Verdict* as well as many other Law Terms; but the Trials by Twelve Men are expreſsly mentioned in *Alfred*'s and *Ethelred* the firſt's Laws.

*1 *Somner* in his *Gloſſary* derives this Word from *Or*, a Privative, and *Dal*, that is, *Diſtinction* or *Difference*, as much as to ſay, an impartial Judgment, without any Diſtinction.

Ways. The Perſon accuſed held in his Hand a Red-hot Piece of Iron of one, two, or three Pounds Weight, according to his Crime, or according to the Evidence againſt him; or elſe he was made to walk *barefoot* and *blindfold*, over nine red-hot Plow-ſhares placed at a ſtated Diſtance. If he had the good Luck to come off unhurt, he was declared innocent: But in caſe he was burnt, he was pronounced guilty. Perſons of Quality were tried by *Fire-Ordeal*, of which *Emma*, Mother to *Edward the Confeſſor*, is an Inſtance. Trial by *Water Ordeal* was made either by *Cold* or by *Scalding*-Water. *Peaſants* and *Slaves* were put upon this Trial. In the Trial by *Cold Water*, the Party ſuſpected had his Hands and Feet tied together, and ſo thrown into a Pond or River. If he ſunk, he was adjudg'd *Guilty*, but if he floated on the Surface of the Water, he was declar'd *Innocent* *. When *Scalding Water* was the Teſt, the Perſon accus'd was to plunge his Arm into it as far as

* Our Author ſeems here to be miſtaken, for the contrary is true. *Sinking* was a ſign of Innocence, and *Swimming* of *Guilt*. The Cuſtom among the Country People of trying *Witches*, by throwing them into the Water with their Thumbs and Toes tied together, is perhaps a Relict of *Water Ordeal*. Theſe Trials were made with great *Solemnity*, and were always managed by the *Clergy*. The Perſon accuſed was oblig'd to ſwear his Innocence, and ſometimes, eſpecially if in *Orders*, to receive the *Sacrament*. After the *Charge* was legally brought in, the Perſon impeach'd was to ſpend three Days in *Faſting* and *Prayer*. At the Day of *Trial*, which in the *Fire Ordeal* was made in the Church, the Prieſt in his Habit took up the *Iron* which lay before the Altar, and repeating the Hymn of the *Three Children*, put it into the Fire: Then uſing ſome Forms of *Benediction* over the Fire and *Iron*, he ſprinkled the *Iron* with *Holy Water*, and made the Sign of the Croſs in the Name of the *Trinity*: Which done, the Party accus'd paſs'd through the Teſt. The Ceremony of the *Scalding Water-Ordeal* was much the ſame. But when the *Trial* was by *cold Water*, the three Days Faſt and other Circumſtances being premis'd, the Perſon ſuſpected drank a Draught of *Holy Water*, to which the Prieſt added an Imprecation in Caſe he was guilty: Then the Water into which he was to be thrown, had a ſort of *exorciſing* Form of Prayers ſaid over it. All theſe ways of *Trial* continued long after the *Conqueſt*. The firſt publick Diſcountenance from the *State* was in the third Year of *Henry* III.

the Wriſt, and ſometimes up to the Elbow. The Trial by *Cold Water* was introduc'd by *Lewis le Debonnaire*, and by Pope *Eugenius* II, in the Room of an *Oath*, which was but too often the Occaſion of the guilty Perſons perjuring themſelves; and the *Engliſh* followed their Example.

Single Combat. The third Way of *Tryal* was by *ſingle Combat*. When the Evidences againſt the Perſon accus'd were not ſtrong, he was allowed to vindicate his Innocence by challenging his Accuſer to ſingle Combat. If the Party impeached was a Woman, ſhe had the Privilege of ſubſtituting one in her room, who was called her *Champion*. This Cuſtom was not introduc'd into *England* till towards the End of the Empire of the *Saxons*: But it continued a long Time in Being.

Corſned. A fourth Way of *Trial* was by giving the Party ſuſpected a Bit of Bread or Cheeſe *, conſecrated with abundance of Ceremonies. 'Twas believed that if he was guilty, the Bread or the Cheeſe would ſtick in his Throat and choak him: but if innocent, he would readily ſwallow it. Part of the Imprecation uſed upon delivering him the Bread, (after he had received the Communion) was as follows: *May this Bread* [or *this Cheeſe*] *which is given him in order to bring the Truth to light, ſtick in his Throat and find no Paſſage, if he is guilty* *. *But if innocent of the Crime laid to his Charge, may he eaſily ſwallow this Bread* [or *this Cheeſe*] *conſecrated in thy Name, to the end all may know*, &c. This way of *Trial* was evi-
Numb. v. dently in Imitation of the *Waters of Jealouſy* among the *Jews*. They who forged the Circumſtances of Earl *Goodwin*'s Death, as related in the Reign of King *Edward*, had viſibly an Eye to this Cuſtom. This *conſecrated* Bread or Cheeſe was call'd *Corſned* from the Word *Snide* or *Snidan*, which ſignifies *to cut a Bit off*; and *Corſe*, that is, to *Curſe*, becauſe 'twas believed that it brought a *Curſe* on the

* He was to take an Ounce of either faſting.

* The Imprecations go on thus: *May his Face turn Pale, his Limbs be convuls'd, and an horrible Alteration appear in his whole Body.*

the guilty Perſon. The *Church* not only approv'd of all theſe Ways of *Tryal*, but preſcrib'd the *Ceremonies* and *Forms of Prayers* to be us'd on theſe Occaſions, and even conſented that the Biſhops and Prieſts ſhould officiate at the Time of the *Tryals*. There is a Law of *Canute the Great* concerning the *Corſned* to this Effect: *If a man be accus'd of Murder, or of having any Hand in it, let him clear himſelf to the Relations and Friends of the murder'd Perſon, and if neceſſary, let him be put to the Tryal of the* Corſned. One can't but be ſurpriz'd, that the *Saxons* and other Nations, among whom theſe *Tryals* were common, could for ſo long together fancy, that they were infallible ways of bringing the Truth to light. On the contrary, one would think that the numberleſs Experiments they muſt needs have had of their Uncertainty, ſhould have opened their Eyes and made them ſee their Error.

When the *Charge* was fully proved, the Law ordained ſeveral Sorts of Puniſhments, according to the Quality of the Offence. The greateſt Part whereof conſiſted in *Fines*, which the guilty Perſon was condemned to pay to the injur'd Party, to the King, to the *Earl*, or to his *Lord*. There were ſome Crimes however, that were look'd upon as *Capital* and were puniſhed with Death. Such were *Treaſon* againſt the King, or Lord, *wilful Murder* and *Theft*. Tho' *Treaſon* was Death by the Law, yet the guilty Perſon had the Liberty of redeeming his Life by paying the *Valuation* of the King's or Lord's Head. *Coining of Money* was not originally a *capital* Crime: but the bad Conſequences of it made the Penalty very great. The firſt Law that made it Death was in the Reign of *Ethelred* II, tho' it was left in the King's Power to commute the Puniſhment for a *Fine*. As for *Murder*, the Laws diſtiguiſhed killing a Man in ſome ſudden and unforeſeen Quarrel, from doing it wilfully and out of premeditated Malice. The Puniſhment of the former was only *Pecuniary*, the latter was *Death*. This Diſtinction is ſtill kept up in the Laws of *England*, where the firſt is called, *Man-ſlaughter*; and the other, *Murder*. *Theft* or *Robbery* was not till after ſome Time puniſhable by Death, and even the firſt Laws that made it ſo, permitted

Treaſon.

Coining.

Murder and Man-ſlaughter.

Theft.

permitted the *Thief* to redeem his Head by a Summ of Money.

Fines for other Crimes.

All other *Offences* were puniſh'd only by *Mulcts* or *Fines*, till the Reign of *Canute the Great*, who order'd in the Caſe of *Adultery*, that the Woman ſhould have her Noſe and Ears cut off, and the Man ſhould be baniſh'd the Realm. Theſe *Fines* were not left to the *Will* of the Judge, but were ſettled by Law, according to the Quality of the injur'd Party, from the *King* to the *Peaſant*; and with regard to the Malefactors, from the *Ealdorman* to the *Slave*. Upon ſome certain Occaſions, they who had incurr'd the Penalty of Death, might buy off their Puniſhment by giving the King part of their Eſtates. But this was ſeldom done, except in ſuch Caſes where the Quality or Power of the guilty Party render'd it difficult or dangerous to put the Laws in Execution. We have a remarkable Inſtance of this in the Tryal of Earl *Goodwin* in the Reign of *Edward the Confeſſor*. This Lord, as hath been related in the Life of King *Edward*, having enter'd the *Thames* with his Fleet, the King was conſtrained to reſtore him to his Honours. But as he had been baniſh'd by the *Witena-Gemot*, he was to be recall'd by the ſame Authority. It was neceſſary therefore to uſe ſome *Formalities*, which ſhould ſcreen him from being called to an Account afterwards, and the Method they took was This. The Earl being come to *London*, where the great Council was aſſembled, the King himſelf turn'd his Accuſer, and ſaid, *Thou Traytor*, Goodwin, *I charge thee with the Death of* Alfred *my Brother, whom thou haſt traiterouſly murder'd. My Lord*, anſwer'd the Earl, *ſaving the Reverence I owe you, I have neither murder'd nor betray'd your Brother, and am ready to refer my ſelf to the Judgment of your Court.* Upon which the Witneſſes were produc'd and examin'd, and then *Leofric* Duke of *Mercia* ſpoke thus: *It ſeems evident to me that Prince* Alfred *was put to Death by the Advice of Earl* Goodwin. *But as he is one of the greateſt Lords in the Kingdom, 'tis my Opinion, that Twelve of us Earls, who are his Relations and Friends, ſhould take as much Gold as we can carry in our Hands, and humbly preſenting it to the King, ſhould ſupplicate*

plicate for his Pardon and his being reſtor'd to his Honours upon his taking the Oath of Allegiance. This being agreed to, Twelve of the Lords offer'd a certain Summ to the King, which he accepting of, pardon'd the Earl: But this whole Proceſs was all a *Farce*. *Goodwin* knew before-hand how Matters would go, otherwiſe he would never have ventur'd to ſtand by their Sentence.

Before I conclude this Head, it will be proper to remark, that ſeveral, upon reading the *Saxon* Laws, falſely imagine, that the Murder, as well of the King, as of any other *Subject*, was puniſhable only by a *Fine*. But this wrong Notion proceeds purely from not attending to the Diſtinction before-mention'd between *wilful Murder* and *Man-ſlaughter*. Of this Laſt, we are to underſtand *Athelſtan*'s Law *, which ſettles the *Fines* to be paid for the killing any Man, from the *King* to the *Slave*.

* In this Law we have the Valuation of Mens Heads of all Orders and Degrees. This Valuation was called in *Saxon Wiregild*. The King's Head was valued at 30,000 *Thrimſa's* (that is in our Money 360*l*. each *Thrimſa* being ſuppos'd worth about our three Pence, the ſame as their *Peninga* or *Sceat*) half of which was to be paid to his Relations, and half to the State. An Atheling or Prince's was valued at 15,000 *Thrimſa's*: A Biſhop's and *Ealdorman*'s at 8000: a General's at 4000: a Spiritual and Temporal *Thanes* at 2000: (hence 'tis evident that a *Thane* was far from being the ſame with a *Baron*, whoſe *Valuation* would have been at leaſt as much as a Biſhop's) the *Ceorl*'s Head was valued at 267, but if he was ſo rich as to poſſeſs five Hides of Land, at 2000, the ſame as a *Thane*'s. The *Saxon* Money is thus calculated by Mr. *Camden*, a *Peninga* three of our Pence. A *Shilling* 3 *Peningas*, or 15*d*. a Pound 48 *Shillings*, or three of our Pounds. *Manca*, *Mancuſa*, *or Marca* 12 of our Pence. *Manca* of Gold 30 *Peningas* or 7*s*. 6*d*.

The

The CUSTOMS *and* MANNERS *of the* ANGLO-SAXONS.

THE *Anglo-Saxons* brought with them from *Germany* their own Country's *Virtues* and *Vices*, and transmitted them to their *Posterity*. Their *Valour*, to which they were indebted for their Conquests, as well in *England* as *Germany*, was what they valued themselves most upon. They were bred up to Arms from their Infancy, and it may be said that War was their only Profession. They came to their *General Assemblies* arm'd; and show'd their Approbation of what was propos'd by striking their Javelins one against another. Their usual Arms were the *Sword*, *Club*, *Battle-Ax*, or *Bill*, and *Javelin*. As they had no Bows and Arrows, their Battles were the more bloody. After they had darted their Javelins, they came to a *close* Fight, wherein their Dexterity in handling their Arms, gave them a great Advantage. 'Tis true indeed, towards the End of their Empire, they were frequently worsted by the *Danes*, and at length by the *Normans*. But where is the Nation, how famous soever for Bravery, that has not experienc'd the like Turns of Fortune? Among the *Saxons*, a Man without Courage was look'd upon with the utmost Contempt. This lofty Conceit of martial Valour was the Cause of the great Difficulty of their being reconcil'd after a Quarrel. Each Party dreading the Name of a Coward, should he make the first Advances, the Quarrel was kept on Foot from Father to Son, and very seldom ended but with the Extinction of one of the Families *.

It

* These are what we call *Deadly Feuds*, that is, Quarrels which end not but in Death. The 38*th* Law of *Alfred* is concerning these *Deadly Feuds*, and gives a strange License for Men to take Satisfaction on their Enemies, even without the Presence of any Officer.

Nay,

It is eaſy to imagine, that People of this Temper, accuſtom'd from their Childhood to fear neither Blows nor Wounds, and continually encouraged by the Example of their Relations and Friends, encounter'd Dangers with all the Reſolution in the World. Accordingly there never was any Nation that look'd Death in the Face with greater Intrepidity than the *Saxons*. And all the World knows this is the Character of the *Engliſh* at thi very Day.

The *Saxons* were extremely addicted to Religion, even before they had the Happineſs of becoming Chriſtians. When they ſettled in *Great-Britain*, they were not only Idolaters, but of all the Heathens were the moſt attach'd to the Service of their Gods, even to the ſacrificing of the Priſoners of War on their Altars. As ſoon as they had embrac'd the Goſpel, the ſame Inclination caus'd them to receive and practice, with equal Zeal, the Duties of the Chriſtian Religion, and whatever the Monks, their firſt Teachers, were pleas'd to inculcate upon them. 'Twas unlucky for them that they ſhould not come to the Knowledge of God, 'till the Monks began by degrees to disfigure Religion by their *ſuperſtitious* Practices. As the *Saxons* were Men of no *Learning*, and conſequently not competent Judges of what they were taught, they entirely gave themſelves up to the Management of their Guides. Hence their great Zeal in founding and endowing Monaſteries. They were made to believe, that the *Main* of Religion conſiſted in enriching the Monks, or at leaſt that they might by that Means ſupply all Defects. This is the Reaſon that in the two firſt Centuries after their Converſion we find among them ſo many *Saints* of diſtinguiſhed Birth and Fortune. Indeed, ſince *Sanctity* might be purchaſed by *liberal* Benefactions to the Monaſteries, it was an eaſy way for the Rich and the Powerful to come at it. But although their Thoughts were engroſs'd by abundance of unneceſſary things, yet

Nay, ſo far did they proceed, that if one Man killed another, his Kindred revenged his Death upon any of the Murderer's Relations (as they do among the *Indians*) till King *Edmund* ordered by a Law that the Murderer alone ſhould bear the *deadly Feud* or Enmity of the Kindred of the Party ſlain.

one can't but obſerve a great Bias to Religion in all their Proceedings. This natural Inclination no doubt was the Reaſon that ſo many of their Kings voluntarily exchanged their worldly Glory for a *Cloyſter*. They who are acquainted with the Temper of the *Engliſh* at this Day, will readily own that no Nation can produce more Inſtances of *fervent* and *ſolid* Piety. My long Abode in *England* makes me affirm this the more boldly. 'Tis true indeed, God has permitted *Libertiniſm* in Matters of Religion to have got ſome Ground there of late Years. But 'twould be very unjuſt to judge of a whole Nation by a few that are infected by it, and of whom one ſingle Perſon ſhall make more noiſe in the World by his pernicious *Maxims*, than many Thouſands of pious and ſincere Chriſtians.

Common Swearing not frequent among the Saxons.

The *Anglo-Saxons* were ſo little accuſtomed to *Swearing* and *Blaſpheming*, which are grown ſo common now-a-days in Converſation, that among all their Laws we don't find one againſt this Cuſtom. It can't be ſaid this was owing to the Negligence of the *Legiſlators*, ſince we ſee in thoſe very Laws great Penalties laid upon ſuch as ſhould break the *Sabbath*, or not keep a *Faſt*.

Given to Drunkenneſs. Edgar's *Law about it.*

Drunkenneſs was their reigning Vice. They had been us'd to drink out of large Cups, and to take great Draughts, till *Edgar*, willing to reform this Abuſe, ordered certain Marks to be made in their Cups at ſuch a Height, above which they were forbid to fill under ſuch a Penalty. But this Regulation continued not long in Force.

The Sciences.

Although the *Engliſh* in general, before the *Norman Conqueſt*, were not very famous for their *Learning*, it is not to be attributed to their want of *Genius*, but rather to their Education, which was entirely turned to Arms. Beſides, the time of the Dominion of the *Saxons*, eſpecially after the Union of the Seven Kingdoms, was not a time wherein the *Sciences* greatly flouriſhed.

They reckon'd Time by Nights.

I have but two Remarks more to make on the Cuſtoms of the *Anglo-Saxons*. The Firſt is, they reckon'd the Time by *Nights*, a Cuſtom they ſtill retain in *England* in ſome Expreſſions. For Inſtance, inſtead of *two Weeks* they ſay a *Fortnight*, or *Fourteen-Nights*. *Mezeray* obſerves the ſame thing

thing of the antient *Francs*. This, with ſeveral other Cuſtoms common to the *Francs* and *Saxons*, is a ſtrong Preſumption, that theſe two Nations were deriv'd from the ſame Source. This is what Sir *William Temple* aſſerts alſo in his *Introduction to the Hiſtory of* England.

My ſecond Obſervation is, that the *Anglo-Saxons* were wont to ſeparate their Lands by large and deep Ditches. This was not only the Cuſtom of private Perſons; but the Kings themſelves took care to raiſe Ramparts with large Ditches on the Frontiers of their Dominions, to ſeparate them from thoſe of the Neighbouring States, when there was no Mountains or Rivers to ſerve for Boundaries. *Offa's Dike*, which he made to divide *Mercia* from *Wales*, was 24 Miles long. There was another between the *Thames* and the *Severn*, which ſeparated *Mercia* from *Weſſex*. It was called *Woden's Dike*, but contracted now into *Wandsditch*. *Mercia* and *Eaſt-Anglia* were parted in the ſame Manner. Afterwards, the *Eaſt-Angles* getting ground upon the *Mercians*, made another Ditch Seven Miles further in the Country, where they had carried their Conqueſts. The Firſt was call'd, but for what reaſon I know not, the *Devil's Dike*, and the other, *the Seven Mile-Dike*. They had this Cuſtom from the antient *Saxons*, who practiſed the ſame thing in *Germany*. We are inform'd by ſome Hiſtorian, that the *Saxons* of *Sleſwick* threw up a large Rampart from Sea to Sea, to defend themſelves againſt the Incurſions of the *Danes* who were in poſſeſſion of the *Cimbrick Cherſoneſus* or *Jutland*. *Pepin* King of *France* was prevented a long time from entring *Saxony* by one of theſe Ramparts, and 'twas not but with great Difficulty that he made his way over it at laſt.

The Saxon Dikes.

The LANGUAGE *of the* ANGLO-SAXONS.

The several Dialects *of the* Anglo-Saxon *Language.*

FOR the better understanding the Nature of the Language of the *Anglo-Saxons*, 'twill be necessary to distinguish the several Languages that were in use in *England*, after the Arrival of the first *Saxons*. The *English* Tongue originally differed but little from the *Danish*, since the antient Writers call them indifferently *Cimbrick*, *Scandinavian*, *Gothic*: but this Language was not the same with the *Saxon*. They spoke at first in the Parts lying North of the *Thames*, pure *English* or *Danish*, and South of the *Thames*, pure *Saxon*. Tho' these two Languages were different, yet it was not to such a Degree but that the two Nations might understand one another. In Process of Time, especially after the Union of the Seven Kingdoms, *Saxon* prevail'd over all the Kingdom, because the Kings were of that Nation. Thus *English* [or the Language of the *Angles*] was by degrees disus'd, or at least banished from common Conversation. Afterwards the *Danes* settling in *England*, brought hither their Language, which was not the antient *Danish* or *English* above mention'd, but a *modern Danish*, being a Mixture of the Language of the neighbouring Nations. This *modern Danish* was chiefly used in *Northumberland*, *Mercia*, and *East-Anglia*, where the *Danes* were Masters. Tho' out of complaisance to the *English*, *Canute the Great* published his Laws in *Saxon*, yet the *Danish* Tongue was still retain'd in the North, where the People were most of them *Danes*. As it was also spoke at Court during the Reigns of *Canute the Great* and his two Sons, it became necessary for the *West-Saxons*, who adopted several Words and Idioms of it into their own Language. But upon *Edward the Confessor*'s Accession to the Throne, *Saxon* prevailed again at Court. Hence the Inhabitants of the North were under some necessi-

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ty of learning it juſt as the *Gaſcons* in *France* are oblig'd to learn *French*.

In the Reign of King *Edward*, the *Norman* Language began alſo to be introduc'd into *England*. As his Mother was a *Norman*, and as he had liv'd many Years in that Court, he was very fond of the *Norman Language*. Moreover, the great Numbers of *Normans* that flock'd into *England*, was a great Means of ſpreading this Language among the Perſons of Quality, who took a Pride in ſpeaking it well. The *Norman* Tongue was at that time a Mixture of *Daniſh* and *French*, the laſt of which prevailing at length, the antient *Daniſh* the *Normans* had brought with them into *Normandy*, daily loſt Ground. As ſoon as *William the Conqueror* was ſeated on the Throne of *England*, he us'd all poſſible means to bring his Native Tongue in vogue throughout the Kingdom; He publiſh'd his Laws in *Norman*, the which, and the ſettling of Multitudes of *Norman* Families in *England*, made that Language as common as the *Saxon*.

The Language then of the *Anglo-Saxons* before the *Conqueſt* was a Mixture of the following *Dialects*. 1. Of *Britiſh* or *Celtick*, from whence no doubt the *Saxons* borrow'd ſome Words and Phraſes. 2. Of *Latin*, which was common in *Great-Britain* when the *Saxons* arriv'd. 3. Of the antient *Engliſh* or *Daniſh*. 4. Of the Modern *Daniſh*. 5. Of pure *Saxon*. 6. Of *Norman* mix'd with *Daniſh* and *French*. They who have carefully ſtudied this Matter, diſtinguiſh three principal *Dialects* in the *Anglo-Saxon* Language. The firſt was compounded of *Britiſh*, *Latin* and *Saxon*, but in ſuch a manner that the *Saxon* was predominant. The only Remains of this *Dialect*, which was in uſe above 300 Years, is a *Fragment* of the Writings of *Cedmon* the Monk, inſerted by *Alfred the Great* in his Tranſlation of *Bede*'s *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*. The Second *Dialect*, which may be term'd *Dano-Saxon*, was us'd in the Northern *Parts*, from the firſt Invaſions of the *Danes*, to the *Norman Conqueſt*. There are ſtill preſerv'd in ſome *Libraries*, two *Manuſcript* Verſions of the *Goſpel* in this Language. The Third *Dialect* was made up of the

other

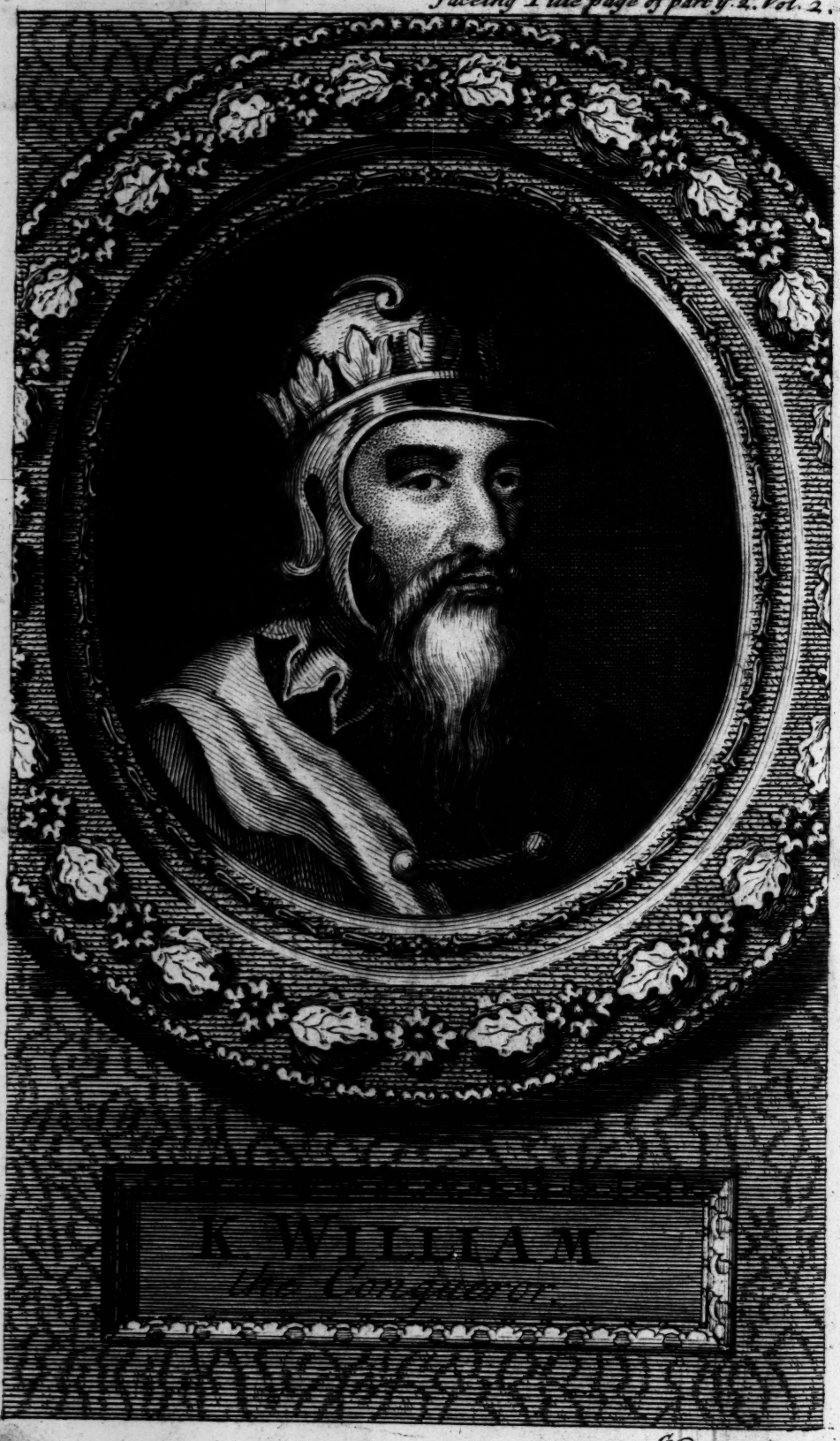
other two and the *Norman*. This *Dialect*, which was introduced chiefly in the Reigns of *Edward the Confeſſor*, and *William the Conqueror*, has admitted of great Alterations, by the Addition of abundance of *French* Words, particularly, after *Henry*'s II's Acceſſion to the Crown of *England*. They who are ignorant of the *Engliſh* Tongue, will not eaſily be made to believe, that a Mixture of ſo many Languages can have any Extraordinary *Beauties*. But the *Engliſh* aſſert, that their Tongue ſhould for that very reaſon, be the more *Beautiful* and *Expreſſive*, ſince they have adopted only the more *refin'd* Part of other Tongues, and rejected what is *rude* and *unpoliſh*'d. Be this as it will, they have a great Value for their own Language, and if a Foreigner may be allowed to give his Opinion, I think very juſtly.

Sterling-Money. I ſhall conclude this Article with a Word or two concerning the Name of *Sterling*, which is given to the *Engliſh* Money. Some are of Opinion that this Word comes from the Town of *Striveling* or *Sterling* in *Scotland*, where they pretend, but without any Authority, that the beſt and Brady. pureſt Money was formerly coin'd. Others ſay, with much greater Probability, that *Sterling* is deriv'd from the *Saxon* Word *Steore*, which ſignifies *Rule* or *Standard*: that according to this Opinion, *Sterling-Money* means no more than Money made according to a ſettled *Standard*. *Camden* and ſome others believed this Word was of a much more modern Date, and taken from certain *Flemiſh Workmen*, who in the Reign of King *John* were called into *England* to reduce the Money to its due Fineneſs, in which they were more expert than the *Engliſh*. As the People of that Country were term'd *Eaſterlings*, becauſe they lived *Eaſtward* of *England*, 'tis pretended that the Money they coin'd, was called *Eaſterling* or *Sterling*, that is, *made by the Eaſterlings, or Flemiſh*, and conſequently purer than what had been coin'd before.

The End of the Firſt PART *of* VOL II.

BRITISH MUSEUM

facing Title page of part 1st. Vol. 2.



THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BY

Mr. DE RAPIN THOYRAS.

VOL. II. PART II.

From the NORMAN CONQUEST to the *Reſtoration* of the SAXON LINE. Containing the Reigns of WILLIAM *the Conqueror*, WILLIAM RUFUS, HENRY I. and King STEPHEN.

Done into *Engliſh*, from the *French*, and illuſtrated with Notes by N. TINDAL, M. A.



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THE HISTORY of *ENGLAND.*

BOOK VI.

The Norman *Line: From the Reign of* WILLIAM the Conqueror *to the Death of King* STEPHEN, *containing the Space of about* 88 *Years. With the State of the* CHURCH *during the ſaid Space.*

SECT. I.

I. WILLIAM I. *Sirnam'd the* BASTARD, *or* CONQUEROR.



WHEN one impartially conſiders the Duke of *Normandy*'s Expedition againſt *England*, one is at a Loſs which to admire moſt, either the *Grounds*, or the *Boldneſs*, or the *Succeſs* of his Enterprize. In the firſt Place, one can't but be ſurpris'd he ſhould build his *Right* upon ſo ſandy a Foundation as the bare *Will* of King *Edward*, of which it does not appear in Hiſtory that he ever offer'd to give the leaſt Proof, or produce any Evi-

Reflections on the Duke of Normandy's *Attempt upon the* Engliſh.

dence. In the next Place, 'tis full as difficult to conceive, that this Prince, who was looked upon as one of the most politick in his Time, should resolve upon maintaining his pretended Right by Arms, in spite of all the Obstacles that conspir'd to divert him from his Purpose. Never Project seemed more rashly formed, or with less Appearance of Success. The Forces of *Normandy* were not to be compared with those of *England*, neither had the Duke in the Country he undertook to conquer, any strong Holds, or Friends, whereon to found the least Hopes of accomplishing his Ends. Even after he had landed a powerful Army, not so much as a single Lord declared in his Favour. Nay, so far was he from reasonably expecting any Assistance from the *English*, that he could not be ignorant how well they stood affected to *Harold*. 'Tis true, some among them, out of a Sense of Justice and Equity, might not be pleas'd with the new King's usurping the Crown from Prince *Edgar*. But it never entered into their Thoughts to blame him for supplanting the Duke of *Normandy*, whose Pretensions they were not so much as acquainted with. They were so little inclined to set by the King they had elected, than on the contrary, they had just given him sensible Marks of their Fidelity, by their Zeal and Readiness in his Defence against the King of *Norway*. On the other Hand, the Obstructions Duke *William* had reason to expect from the neighbouring Princes, were enough to frighten him from his Design. Their Interest required that instead of promoting his Enterprize, they should oppose his growing Power. The *French* in particular, could not without running counter to the most obvious Maxims of *Politicks*, forbear endeavouring to blast a Design, the Success whereof would infallibly be very prejudicial to them. But supposing he could have been sure that the Princes his Neighbours would voluntarily shut their Eyes against their own Interest, how could he hope to succeed, since the States of *Normandy* refus'd to assist him in an Undertaking which to them seemed equally unjust and rash? Lastly, in the Execution of his Design, one is surpris'd to see, contrary to all Expectation, the greatest Difficulties insensibly

vanish

vaniſh before him, and the very Things which ſeemed the moſt oppoſite to his Deſigns, help to bring them about. The States of *Normandy* refuſing him the Aſſiſtance he ſtood in need of, private Perſons voluntarily drain their Purſes and furniſh him with more Money than he could have expected from the States. The Court of *France* lets him go unmoleſted, and even ſuffers the *French* to aid him in procuring a Crown which might one Day render him equal to his Sovereign, or at leaſt put him in a Condition to diſpute his Superiority. All the reſt of the neighbouring Princes ſtrive who ſhould moſt forward a Deſign, the Succeſs whereof cannot but be fatal to them. He is aſſiſted by the Earls of *Bretaign* and of *Anjou*, who a little before were his mortal Enemies. In a word, within the Space of a few Months, he has a numerous Army, a Thouſand Tranſport-Ships, and Money in Abundance. Even *Harold*'s late Victory over the King of *Norway* contributed as much as any one Thing to the Duke of *Normandy*'s Succeſs, tho' one would think it ſhould have cut off all Hopes. In that Action *Harold* loſt his beſt Troops, and rais'd Diſcontents among the reſt, by not giving them a Share of the Spoils. In fine, that ſame Victory inſpir'd him with a fatal Contempt of the *Normans*, which prov'd his Ruin. Had it not been for that, he would have avoided coming to a Battle, according to his Brother's Advice, and by that means ſuffered the *Norman* Army to diminiſh daily in an Enemy's Country, where there was no poſſibility of being reinforc'd. And if afterwards the Duke, compelled to fight at a Diſadvantage, had been vanquiſhed, what could he have alledg'd to vindicate his Enterprize from Injuſtice and Raſhneſs? But the Event has turn'd the Minds of Men from theſe Reflections, and determined the Hiſtorians to extol an Action, they would infallibly have blamed, had it not been attended with Succeſs. Thus the Foundation whereon the Duke of *Normandy* built his Pretenſions, the little Reaſon he had to flatter himſelf with the Hopes of ſucceeding in his Attempt, and the Eaſe wherewith he brought it about, equally deſerve our Admiration. Add to all This, that by one ſingle Battle he became Maſter of

a Country, which neither the *Danes*, nor the *Saxons*, nor the *Romans* themſelves, were able to ſubdue till after Numberleſs Engagements, and the ſpace of ſeveral Ages. All this obliges us to own, that he was guided by the Almighty Arm of him who is the only Giver of Victory, and who ſets up and pulls down Kingdoms according to his good Pleaſure. God no doubt was pleas'd to make uſe of this *Conqueror* as his Inſtrument to render the *Engliſh* Nation more Illuſtrious than it had ever been before. The *Engliſh*, hitherto almoſt unknown to the reſt of the World, began after this *Revolution* to make a conſiderable Figure in *Europe*. It may be ſaid, that this was the firſt Step by which *England* mounted to that Height of Grandeur and Glory we behold it in at preſent. This is what will evidently appear in the whole Courſe of this Hiſtory. But ſince I am to begin with the Reign of *William the Conqueror*, it will not be improper to give ſome Account of this Prince, who was two and forty Years of Age at the Time of the Battle of *Haſtings*, and had been three and Thirty Years Duke of *Normandy*. It will be neceſſary therefore, before we enter upon his Reign, to conſider by what Degrees divine Providence rais'd him to the Throne of *England*, which his Birth ſeemed upon all Accounts to place him at a great Diſtance from.

The Affairs of Normandy *from* Rollo *to* William *the* Baſtard.

Normandy, one of the largeſt and moſt conſiderable Provinces in *France*, was in Poſſeſſion of the *Normans* ever ſince *Charles the Simple* had been forced to deliver it up to *Rollo the Dane*, the firſt Duke. This Prince and his immediate Succeſſors, content with what they had acquir'd, were leſs ſollicitous about enlarging their Territories, than about ſecuring the Poſſeſſion of their Deſcendents. By the means of numerous *Colonies* of their own Nation, who by reciprocal Marriages were incorporated with the Natives, they ſoon brought it about that the two Nations became one *People*, under the common Name of *Normans*. A Name given by the *French* to the Foreigners ſettled in *Neuſtria*, which from them was alſo called *Normandy*. The firſt Dukes made it their principal Care to gain the Affections of their Subjects, by ſecuring to them, as far as

lay

lay in their Power, the Sweets of Peace, and by governing them with Juſtice and Equity. By this prudent Conduct they not only deſtroy'd the Seeds of Rebellion, which might lurk in the Hearts of the antient Inhabitants, but alſo ſcreen'd themſelves from the ſecret Practices of the Kings of *France*, who could not ſee without Regret ſo noble a Province torn from their Monarchy. Accordingly, when the *French*, at any favourable Juncture, attempted to recover it, they always found the Dukes of *Normandy* able to defend themſelves by the Help of their own Forces, becauſe they were aſſured of the People's Affections.

From *Rollo* to *William the Baſtard* there were Seven Dukes, among whom *Richard* II, who was the Fourth, was one of the moſt illuſtrious. His firſt Wife was *Judith* of *Bretaign*, by whom he had three Sons, *Richard*, *Robert* and *William*. After the Death of *Judith*, he made a double Alliance with *Canute the Great*, by giving him his Siſter *Emma* Widow to *Ethelred* II. King of *England*, and by taking himſelf *Eſtrith* Siſter to that Prince. How honourable ſoever this Match might be to him, the Love he had entertain'd for a young Damſel called *Pavia*, caus'd him to divorce *Eſtrith* in order to marry his Miſtreſs. By his ſecond Wife he had *William* Earl of *Arques*, and *Mauger* Archbiſhop of *Roan*.

After the Death of this Prince, his Son *Richard* III. ſucceeded him, notwithſtanding the Endeavours of his younger Brother *Robert* to ſupplant him. *Robert* not being able to accompliſh his Deſigns, was forc'd to deſiſt; or rather, as ſome affirm, he went a ſurer and a more ready Way to work. 'Tis ſaid he procured his Brother to be poiſoned, who after a Reign of two Years, left him the Poſſeſſion of the Dukedom, which he had ſo ardently wiſhed for. Whether Duke *Robert*'s Crime was never fully proved, or whether his juſt Government blotted out all Remembrance of it, he found the Means to gain the Affections of his People at Home by his Juſtice and Liberality, whilſt his Valour procur'd him Reſpect from Abroad. By his Aid it was that *Henry* I. King of *France*, was put in Poſſeſſion of the Throne, in ſpite of the Pretenſions of

Robert

Robert his younger Brother, who was ſupported by a powerful Party. The Intrigues of Queen *Conſtance* their Mother, who eſpous'd the Intereſt of her youngeſt Son, having oblig'd *Henry* to demand the Aſſiſtance of the Duke of *Normandy*, he came to him at *Roan*, and obtain'd at firſt an Aid of five hundred Spear-Men. Theſe were quickly followed by a more conſiderable Body of Troops, which the Duke led himſelf into *France*, where he plac'd *Henry* on the Throne, after he had compelled the younger Brother to take up with *Burgundy*. *Henry*, full of Gratitude for this ſignal Piece of Service, proteſted he would have it in eternal Remembrance; and to let him ſee he was in good Earneſt, he annex'd to the Dutchy of *Normandy* the Cities of *Chaumont* and *Pontoiſe*, then in Poſſeſſion of the Crown of *France*.

'Twill not be proper here to enter into the Particulars of the Wars Duke *Robert* carried on againſt ſome *Norman* Lords who had revolted, and againſt the Duke of *Brettany* who refus'd to do him Homage. 'Tis ſufficient to ſay in a word, that he was ſucceſsful in taming the Rebels, and in reducing the Duke of *Brettany* to his Allegiance. I have already mention'd his Deſign of endeavouring to have Juſtice done to his Couſins the Sons of *Ethelred* II, and how his Enterprize fell to the Ground; for which reaſon there is no need to ſay any thing more of that Matter.

It is hard to conceive why this Prince, who was a Lover of his People, ſhould never think of marrying, though he might plainly foreſee, that in caſe he died without Heirs great Confuſion and Troubles would enſue. There were in *Normandy* ſeveral Branches of the *Ducal* Family, who might put in their Claims to the Dukedom if he died without Children. Conſequently there was all the Probability in the World that their ſeveral Pretenſions would be the Occaſion of a Civil War, which *Robert* might prevent by marrying. But notwithſtanding this, he was reſolved never to marry. One would be apt to think that this Reſolution of his was owing to his Inſenſibility for the fair Sex, had we not a Proof to the contrary, in his Paſſion for a young Damſel, with whoſe graceful Mien he was charm'd

as

as he ſaw her dancing. The Damſel, who was called *Arlotta* *, a Skinner's Daughter of *Falaiſe*, looking upon herſelf as extremely honoured by the Duke's Addreſſes, readily yielded to his Sollicitations. 'Tis ſaid, that the firſt Night the King took her to his Bed, ſhe dreamt that her Bowels were extended over all *Normandy* and *England*. This Dream was very naturally interpreted afterwards, if it be true that 'twas not invented after the Event.

Robert had by this Miſtreſs a Son called *William*, of whom 'tis related, that the Moment he was born, having laid hold of ſome Straws, he held them ſo faſt, that they were forc'd to unclinch his Fiſt before he would let them go. This made the *good Women* there preſent ſay, he would one Day prove a *Great Acquirer*, ſince he began ſo early. *Robert* had his young Son brought up with all imaginable Care, deſigning him for his Succeſſor. But whilſt he was laying out his Pains in his Education, he took it in his Head to go a Pilgrimage to *Jeruſalem*. This Act of Devotion was look'd upon as the Effect of his Remorſe for the Murder of the Duke his Brother, and of his Deſire to atone for his Crime by this Kind of *Penance*. Be this as it will, before he ſat out, he took all neceſſary Meaſures to ſecure the Succeſſion to his Baſtard Son. He was very ſenſible how difficult it would be for young *William* to get Poſſeſſion, if the *Normans* were not prepared before-hand to acknowledge him. To this End he ſummoned the States of *Normandy*, and communicating to them his Deſign of going to the *Holy-Land*, conjur'd them, in caſe he ſhould never return more, to receive after his Death his young Son *William* for their Sovereign. The States did all that lay in their Power to divert the Duke from his Journey; but finding he was not to be prevail'd upon, they gave him their Promiſe with an Oath, that in Caſe any ill Accident ſhould befal him on the Road, they would conform to his Will. To let him ſee they deſign'd to keep their Word, they ſwore *Fealty* to *William*, as the Preſumptive Heir of the Duke his Father. This Affair being ſettled to *Robert's*

Chron. *of* Normandy.

* From whence 'tis ſaid came the Word *Harlot*.

Robert's Satisfaction, he appointed *Alain* Duke of *Bretaign*, his Relation and Vaſſal, *Seneſchal* of *Normandy*, giving him Power to act in his Abſence with an abſolute Authority. After this he carried his Son to *Paris*, and delivered him into the Hands of the King of *France*, who took charge of his Education. Before he left the Court of *France*, he made young *William* do Homage to the King, as if he had been in actual Poſſeſſion of *Normandy*.

The Abſence of Duke *Robert* occaſioned ſome Troubles in his Dominions, which oblig'd the Duke of *Bretaign* to uſe ſome Severity, and exert the Authority he was entruſted with. But whilſt he was earneſtly endeavouring to reſtore Peace and Tranquillity, he was taken off by Poiſon. This Accident was ſoon follow'd by a Report of the Duke's being dead on the Road. Notwithſtanding the Uncertainty of this News, it was the Cauſe of Commotions ſo much the more dangerous, as there was no body in *Normandy* capable of appeaſing them. They who had the Adminiſtration of Affairs in their Hands, were themſelves engag'd in Factions, which had been forming ever ſince the Duke's Departure, and by that means they help'd to increaſe the Confuſion.

Whilſt things were in this ill State, ſome of the Duke's Train arriv'd, and confirm'd the News of his Death. Upon which ſeveral of the principal Lords, deſcended from the antient Dukes, began to cabal openly how to exclude the *Baſtard* from the Succeſſion. Plauſible Pretences were not wanting: but the States declar'd, that they could not without the Guilt of Perjury break through the Oath they had bound themſelves by. The Reſolution being taken of acknowledging *William* for Sovereign, Ambaſſadors were diſpatch'd to the King of *France* to demand the young Prince. Ever ſince *Henry* had been inform'd of the Duke of *Normandy*'s Death, the Shame of doing an ill Action, and the Deſire of becoming Maſter of *Normandy*, had kept him in Suſpence. He had been in hopes that the Troubles in that Dukedom would turn to his Advantage, and he had begun to lay his Schemes accordingly. However, when he found the States of *Normandy* had declar'd in favour

of

of Duke *William*, he thought proper to put off the Execution of his Deſigns, till a more convenient Seaſon. He reſolved therefore to conceal his Intentions, and to ſend Home the young Prince. As ſoon as Duke *William* came to *Roan*, the States ſwore Fealty to him, and gave him for Governour *Raoul de Gace* Conſtable of *Normandy*.

The Troubles were not allayed by the Arrival of the new Duke. The Lords who laid claim to the *Ducal* Crown, could not find in their Hearts to drop their Pretenſions. They had a Notion that the preferring a Baſtard before Them, was doing them a manifeſt Injuſtice. But as they who held the Reins of the Government were Men of great Prudence and Intereſt, and were looked upon as ſupported by *France*, the *Claimants* durſt not openly avow their Deſigns. In the mean Time, King *Henry* was on Fire to take the Advantage of theſe Diſſentions. The Death of Duke *Robert* had blotted out all Remembrance of the ſignal Service that Prince had done him. In fine, not being able to withſtand the Temptation any longer, he went on a ſudden and laid Siege to the Caſtle of *Tillieres*, to which he had ſome Pretenſions. This Place being very ſtrong and well ſtored with Ammunition, would have held out a long Time, if the Duke's Miniſters had not order'd the Governour to ſurrender on Condition the Caſtle ſhould be demoliſh'd. *Henry* very readily agreed to theſe Terms, and commanded the Walls to be actually raz'd: but on Pretenſe of ſome ambiguous Clauſe in the Articles of Capitulation, he ordered them to be immediately rebuilt. This good Beginning putting him in hopes of ſucceeding in his Enterpriſe, he ſeizes upon *Argentan*. And then marching to *Falaiſe*, he became Maſter of the Town without any Difficulty. He would have made a farther Progreſs, if *Raoul de Gace*, having drawn together a powerful Army, had not compelled him to retire. His Retreat gave the *Conſtable* an Opportunity of retaking *Falaiſe*, the *French* not having had Time to lay in any Stores.

Chron. Norm.

As ſoon as the Lords, who pretended a Right to the Dukedom, ſaw that the King of *France*, inſtead of protecting the young Duke, was making War againſt him,

they began to stir in their own respective Causes. The First that appeared, was *Roger de Tresney*, Standard-bearer of *Normandy*, descended from an Uncle of *Rollo*'s. This Lord, who had amass'd great Riches in *Spain*, where he had for many Years been fighting against the *Saracens*, being returned Home during Duke *Robert*'s Absence, had put himself at the Head of one of the Factions that disturbed the State. As soon as he was informed of that Prince's Death, he form'd a Design of seizing upon the Dukedom. But the Apprehension he was in of the King of *France*'s assisting Duke *William*, prevented him from pursuing his Project at that Time. But his Fears being removed by the Proceedings of King *Henry*, he drew some Troops together, imagining the Duke's Forces would be wholly employed against *France*. But he was quickly after defeated and slain by *Roger de Beaumont*, who commanded the Duke's Army.

Ma'm.

William Earl of *Arques*, Son to *Richard* II. by *Pavia*, was not discouraged by this Example. As he found he was supported by the King of *France* who had set him at Work, he was so hardy as to send a Defiance to the Duke. But the Duke heading his Army in Person, press'd him so vigorously, that he compelled him to shut himself up in the City of *Arques*, where he besieg'd him. *Henry*, who had engaged the Earl in this Enterprize, thought he was obliged in Honour to raise the Siege. To this End he marched into *Normandy*, where he received two Overthrows, and was constrained at last to abandon the Rebel, who upon the City's being taken was sent into Exile.

Guy of Burgundy, Grandson to Duke *Richard* II, by his Daughter, was the next that appeared on the Stage. He had concerted his Measures so well, that he was within an Ace of surprising the Duke, who was then at *Valognes* without any Guard, being entirely ignorant of what was practising against him. But a certain *Fool*, whom the Conspirators did not mistrust, having heard their Design, travelled all Night to give the Duke Notice of it, who had but just Time to put on his Cloaths, in order to post away to *Falaise*. What Speed soever he might make, he was so closely

Chron. of Normandy. Mezeray.

cloſely purſued, that he could not have eſcaped, his Horſe not being able to carry him thither, if he had not been aſſiſted by a Gentleman whom he accidentally met on the Road. This Conſpiracy ſeemed to him ſo dangerous, that he applied to the King of *France* for Aid. *Henry*, either out of Generoſity, or for ſome other unknown Reaſons, not being willing to ſuffer the young Prince to be oppreſs'd brought ſome Troops to his Aſſiſtance, which enabled him to give his Enemy Battle. *Guy* being vanquiſhed and taken Priſoner, Duke *William* by an Act of Generoſity, which redounded no leſs to his Honour than the Victory, very freely gave him his Pardon.

William Guerland, Earl of *Mortagne*, and another *William*, Earl of *Eu*, Son to a natural Brother of *Richard* II. had a Mind alſo to attempt the diſpoſſeſſing of the young Duke. But being prevented by his Expedition, they were ſentenced to perpetual Baniſhment.

The Vigour and Conduct of Duke *William* during all theſe Troubles, made his Subjects entertain great Hopes of Him. His Neighbours began alſo to look upon him as a Prince of diſtinguiſhing Merit, and as one who might in Time find them Employment. The King of *France* in particular grew extremely jealous of him, and blamed himſelf mightily for aſſiſting him againſt *Guy of Burgundy*; but to make amends for that Over-ſight, he rais'd him up a freſh Enemy, the Earl of *Anjou*; however he aſſiſted him at firſt only privately and under-hand. Afterwards he openly eſpouſed his Quarrel, and made a fierce War againſt the Duke, which laſted ſeveral Years, but in the End turn'd to the Diſadvantage of the two Allies. Duke *William* having gain'd two ſucceſſive Battles, they ſued for Peace, which the King of *France* could not obtain without delivering up the Caſtle of *Tillieres*, which he had got Poſſeſſion of during the Duke's *Minority*.

It happen'd during this War that as the Duke was beſieging *Alenſon*, ſome of the Inhabitants came upon the Walls, with *Skins* in their Hands, by way of Reproach for the Baſeneſs of his Birth, his Mother being a Skinner's Daughter. He was ſo nettled at this Inſult, that he ſwore by

by *the Splendor of God*, his usual Oath, he would be reveng'd. Some Time after becoming Master of the Town, he made good his Oath, by putting out the Eyes, and cutting off the Hands and Feet of two and twenty of the insolent Burghers.

Henry died soon after this War. He was succeeded by *Philip* I. his Son, a Minor under the Guardianship of *Baldwin*, the fifth Earl of *Flanders*, who had just married his Daughter *Matilda* to the Duke of *Normandy*. The Relation the *Regent* stood in to the King as his *Pupil*, and to the Duke his Son-in-law, made him take all necessary Precautions to keep up between the two Princes a good Understanding, which lasted many Years.

Duke *William* took this Opportunity to entinguish all Remains of Rebellion among his Subjects. He banished great Numbers, who for the most Part retired into *Pouille*, to one *Robert Guiscard* a *Norman* Gentleman, who made a great Figure then in that Country. The Duke's Relations by his Father's Side giving him the most Disturbance, he obliged almost all of them to quit *Normandy*. Their Estates being confiscated, he inriched with them his Mother's Relations, who till then were but in mean Circumstances. *Robert*, his Brother by the Mother's Side, had the Earldom of *Mortagne* given him, which *William Guerland* had forfeited. *Odo* his Brother partook also of his Bounty, and was moreover made Bishop of *Bayeux*. Two of their Sisters were married to the Earls of *Aumale* and of *Albemarle*.

Mauger his Uncle, Archbishop of *Roan*, had not only a Hand in all the Plots against the Duke, but had proceeded so far as to excommunicate him, on Pretence, of the too near Relation between him and *Matilda* his Wife *. As soon as the Duke was got over all his Troubles, he resolv'd upon being revenged on this Prelate. To this End, having assembled all the Bishop's of *Normandy* at *Lisieux*, he had him accus'd before them of several Misdemeanours, particularly, his selling the *consecrated Chalices* to expend the Money

* She was his first Cousin, being Daughter to *Eleanora* Duke *William*'s Father's Sister.

Money in Luxury. Upon theſe Accuſations, ſupported with all the Intereſt the Duke could make, *Manger* was ſolemnly deprived and *Maurilius* elected in his Room.

After *Duke William* had thus brought under, or diſpers'd all his Oppoſers, the Poſture of his Affairs was ſuch, that he might have ſpent his Days in profound Tranquillity, having nothing to fear either at Home or Abroad. But as he was naturally of a covetous and ambitious Temper, this Tranquillity, which procured him nothing but what he already enjoy'd, was far from contenting him. 'Twas in all probability with a view to ſome further Acquiſitions, that he went and paid a Viſit to King *Edward* his Couſin, who had no Children, and who perhaps had given him ſome Hopes of being his Heir. However this be, 'tis generally believ'd that *Edward* promis'd him, whilſt at the Court of *England*, to make a *Will* in his Favour. But altho' this *Will* never appeared, and tho' the Duke never produced any Evidence for it, notwithſtanding, according to all the Hiſtorians, he made it the Grounds of his Expedition againſt *England*. And yet in the *Manifeſto* publiſhed upon his Landing, he ſays not a Word of this ſame *Will* or *Promiſe*, of which he could not give the leaſt Proof. We have ſeen, in the foregoing Book, what Duke *William* did to ſupport his pretended Right till the Battle of *Haſtings*. It is time now to ſee, how by the Succeſs of that Day he gained the Crown of *England*, and the Methods he took to eſtabliſh himſelf on the Throne in ſpite of all Oppoſition. Hoveden. Dunelm.

It is eaſy to conceive, what a Conſternation the *Engliſh* were in, after the Loſs of the Battle of *Haſtings*, and the Death of their King. They were deſtitute of Men, Arms, and Ammunition; but chiefly they were without a Head to command them, and take care of their preſent Wants. On the other Hand, the victorious *Normans* were at no great Diſtance from *London*, which was the only Place where neceſſary Meaſures could be taken to prevent the Calamities the Kingdom was threatned with. *Harold*'s Sons were fled into *Ireland*. *Edgar Atheling* was too young, and beſides of too little a Soul, to give them 1066 *Duke* William's *Conduct after the Battle of* Haſtings. Will. Pictav.

any Hopes of Aſſiſtance in this their preſſing Neceſſity. 'Tis true, the Earls, *Morckard* and *Edwin* were ſtill alive, and were retired to *London* with ſome Part of the fugitive Army. But in order to take proper Meaſures on ſuch an Occaſion, it would have required more time than the Conqueror, in all Probability, would afford them. Thus the Affairs of the *Engliſh* were in a terrible Confuſion, all the Methods they propoſed to free themſelves from Danger, being clogg'd with inſurmountable Difficulties. On the other ſide, the Duke of *Normandy*, deſirous of taking the Advantage of the Terror of the *Engliſh*, was already on his March towards *London*, that he might by his Approach, increaſe the Trouble and Confuſion the whole City was in. But on a ſudden he altered his Reſolution. He conſidered that altho' the Loſs of a Battle might have thrown the *Engliſh* into Aſtoniſhment, yet there was no Appearance of their being entirely diſpirited at it; *that* their Caſe not being as yet deſperate, they might eaſily bring into the Field freſh Armies, and try ſeveral times more the Fortune of War; *that* provided they did ſo, and he ſhould receive but one Overthrow, he had no-where to retreat to, nor any Opportunity of ſending for Succours from *Normandy*. Theſe Reflections made him reſolve to lay Siege to *Dover*, before he advanced any farther, in order to ſecure a Retreat in Caſe of Neceſſity, and a Port from whence he might eaſily ſend for Supplies from *Normandy*. This cautious Proceeding, even after his Victory, is a clear Evidence of the Boldneſs, or rather Raſhneſs of his Enterpriſe, ſince, had he been worſted, he would not have had a ſingle Spot in the Kingdom to retire to. He march'd therefore directly for *Dover*, a place naturally very ſtrong, but was become more ſo by the great Number of *Engliſh* Officers and Soldiers, who had fled thither for Refuge after the Battle. For this Reaſon, it might have held out a long Siege; but their Conſternation was ſo great, that they ſurrendered in a few Days. As ſoon as the Duke was in Poſſeſſion, he ordered the Town to be more ſtrongly fortified, and ſpent Eight Days there, to forward

ward the Works. After which he marched for *London.*

We are told by ſome that the Duke, as he was marching at the Head of his Army, ſaw at a diſtance a great Multitude of People coming towards him with each a Branch or Bough in his Hand, who, looking like a *Moving* Foreſt, at firſt ſomewhat alarmed him. But his Surpriſe ceaſed, when he found they were the Deputies of the County of *Kent* attended with great Crouds of People, who were come to aſſure him of the Submiſſion of the County, and to demand the Preſervation of their antient Privileges. They who have given us an Account of this Adventure add, that the Duke received them very graciouſly and granted their Requeſt. But as *William of Poictiers*, who was then with the Duke, makes no mention of this Fact, there is Reaſon to think it all a Forgery *. *Kent ſends Deputies to him.*

Whilſt the Duke lay before *Dover*, or was on his March towards the *Thames*, the Trouble and Confuſion at *London* every Moment increas'd by reaſon of the Diverſity of Opinions, which prevented them from coming to any Reſolution. Some were for ſubmitting to the Duke without Loſs of time: Others thought that before they did ſo, 'twould be neceſſary to enter into a Treaty with him, in order to ſecure the Privileges not only of the City, but of the whole Kingdom. Some endeavoured to make appear, that Matters were not come to Extremity, that the Winter, which was already begun, might give them time to concert Meaſures for their Defence; and with this View they laboured heartily to get *Edgar Atheling* plac'd on the Throne. *Edwin* and *Morckard* were at the Head of this laſt Party. But how great ſoever their Credit might be, 'twas not in their Power to carry their Deſign. All they *Great Confuſion at* London.

* This Story is repeated by *William Thorn* (See *X Scriptores*) from a Manuſcript Hiſtory of the Monks of St. *Auguſtin's Canterbury*, written by *Thomas Spot*, who in all probability invented it to magnify the Valour of their Abbot and of the *Kentiſh-men*. *Tyrrel* obſerves the improbability of it from the *Green Boughs* in the beginning of *November*. *Somner* has alſo in his Treatiſe of *Gavelkind* confuted this Relation.

could prevail upon the Citizens to do, was to ſhut up their Gates againſt the Duke, till ſuch time as they fixed upon ſome Reſolution. In the mean while, the Duke approaching the City, encamped in *Southwark*, ſeparated from *London* by the *Thames*. He was in hopes his Approach would oblige the *Londoners* to a voluntary Submiſſion, and with this thought he lay ſtill ſome Days. This Proceeding had a quite contrary Effect to what he expected. *Morckard* and *Edwin* took this Opportunity to ſpirit up the People to take Arms and ſally out in order to ſurpriſe the *Normans*, who were on the other ſide the Bridge. This Sally, which was eaſily repulſed, made the Duke ſenſible, he muſt go another way to work, and vigorouſly preſs this great City, which he could ſcarce hope to be Maſter of, if he gave the Inhabitants time to recover out of their Conſternation. However he was at a great Loſs what to do; and we ſhall not wonder at it, if we conſider, that altho' he had gained a Battle, he was ſtill very far from having attained to his Ends. He was in poſſeſſion but of one ſingle Caſtle, ſituated in the utmoſt Bounds of the Kingdom. All the Reſt of the Country was againſt him, and there were ſeveral remote Counties, where the *Engliſh* might draw an Army together without Moleſtation. There was no advancing towards the Middle of the Kingdom and leaving *London* behind him, without being expoſed to manifeſt Danger, and having all Communication with *Dover* cut off, which was ſo abſolutely neceſſary for him. On the other Hand, 'twas hardly poſſible for him to carry on the Siege of *London* during the Winter. Beſides the Situation of the City would have neceſſarily obliged him to leave a conſiderable Body of Troops on the South-ſide of the *Thames*, which would very much have weakened his Army. In fine, a Siege of that Importance, which in all likelihood, would have laſted ſeveral Months, would have given the *Engliſh* time to come to themſelves, and to raiſe Armies in other Parts of the Kingdom: By which means he would have been under a Neceſſity of conquering *England* Inch by Inch, as the *Romans*, *Saxons*, and *Danes* had been. But he was in no condition

The Duke approaches London.

condition to maintain ſo tedious a War. He had therefore properly but one Way to compaſs his Ends; which was to lay hold of the Conſternation the *Londoners* were in, and oblige them, rather by Terror than Force, to ſubmit to his Laws. With this view it was, that he poſted himſelf at *Wallingford*, from whence he continually ſent out Detachments to ravage the Counties adjoining to *London*, in order to terrify the Citizens, to cut them off from Proviſions, and prevent them from laying in any Stores. At the ſame time, he caus'd *Southwark* to be reduc'd to Aſhes, to let them ſee what they were to expect, if they obſtinately perſiſted in the Defence of the City. But perhaps all his Efforts would have avail'd but little, if the Clergy, who were at *London*, had not broken all the Meaſures *Morckard* and *Edwin* wou'd have taken to cruſh his Deſigns.

Morckard and Edwin endeavour to place Edgar on the Throne.

The Aim of theſe two Lords and ſome other zealous Aſſertors of their Country's Liberty, was to place *Edgar Atheling* on the Throne. They repreſented to the People, that the only way to avoid the preſent Danger, was in the firſt place to come out of that State of Anarchy they were in; That, whilſt there was No-body who had a Right to command, it was impoſſible to take any juſt Meaſures to reſiſt the *Normans*, who were already at their Gates; But that as ſoon as there ſhou'd be a King, he wou'd ſend Orders into all Parts of the Kingdom, to levy Troops, and that the Duke of *Normandy* wou'd then find to his Coſt, that the gaining a ſingle Battle was not ſufficient to render him Maſter of *England*; But that, in caſe they continued inactive, they cou'd expect nothing but total Ruin, and the Kingdom's falling under a Foreign Yoke: In a word, that Prince *Edgar* had an inconteſtable Right to the Crown of *England*, and they cou'd not refuſe to put him in Poſſeſſion of it, without being guilty of great Injuſtice. The Majority of the People clos'd in with the Earl's Propoſals; but the Clergy openly rejected them, not judging it proper to put their Eſtates and Tranquillity to the Hazard of a War. *Edgar* was ſcarce able to protect them. On the other Hand, the Duke of

The Clergy oppoſe them.

Normandy

Normandy had the Name of a Religious Prince, and of one that was well-dispos'd to the *Church*, and his Enterprise had receiv'd the Pope's Approbation. This was enough to oblige all the Clergy, who were then at *London* with the two Archbishops at their Head, to cabal among the People in order to hinder *Edgar*'s Election. They were in hopes that their Submission to the Duke of *Normandy* wou'd turn to a better Account than a War, which, in all Appearance, wou'd be of a long continuance, in case a Resolution was taken to resist him. But however this be, or whatever their Motive might be, they made so strenuous an Opposition, that *Edwin* and *Morckard* despairing of bringing about their Designs, retir'd into the North, perswaded as they were, that 'twould be a long time first before the Duke wou'd be able to follow them thither. They were no sooner gone, but *Stigand*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, repair'd to the Duke who was then at *Berkhamstead*. He was soon follow'd by *Aldred* Archbishop of *York*, the Bishop of *Winchester*, and at last by Prince *Edgar*, who suffer'd himself to be guided by their Direction. The Duke receiv'd them in a very civil and courteous Manner. He granted all their Requests, among which there were some that had Respect to the whole Nation, and 'tis even affirm'd, he confirm'd his Promises by a solemn Oath. 'Tis not known what the Terms were these Prelates obtain'd from the Duke: but 'tis to be presum'd that the *Church*'s Interests were not forgotten. Be this as it will, they swore Fealty to the Duke, as if he had been already their Sovereign, and induced Prince *Edgar* to do the same. Their Example having brought over several Persons of Distinction, in a few Days the *Londoners* found themselves destitute of the Assistance of those they wou'd chiefly have relyed upon, in case they had determin'd to stand upon their Defense.

The two Archbishops and Prince Edgar *submit to the Duke*

In the mean time, as the Citizens were still in Suspence, and as the becoming Master of the Metropolis, before the rest of the Kingdom had taken any Resolution, wou'd decide the Business for the Duke, he made nearer Approaches to the City, as if he intended to besiege it. Upon which

The Duke approaches London.

which the Magiſtrates, finding they were in no Condition to defend a City, where all was in Confuſion and Deſpair, reſolv'd to go out and meet him, in order to preſent him with the Keys of the Gates. He gave them a very favourable Reception, and 'tis ſaid promis'd with an Oath, to preſerve their Privileges. They had gone too far to draw back. The Duke in his whole Conduct letting them ſee he aſpir'd to ſomething more, they thought it wou'd be their beſt way to anticipate his Wiſhes, ſince 'twas not in their Power to hinder the Execution of them. To this Purpoſe, after they had held a Conſultation with the Prelates and Lords, who had already ſubmitted, they unanimouſly reſolv'd to place the Duke on the Throne. Accordingly, they all went to him in a Body, and made him an offer of the Crown, telling him, *They had always been accuſtom'd to live under Kingly Government, and they knew no one more worthy than him to govern them.* The Duke, forgetting on this Occaſion, or pretending to forget, that he had enter'd the Kingdom in an armed Manner, on account of the Claim he laid to the Crown, ſhow'd at firſt ſome Doubt, whether he ſhou'd accept of that Honour. He told them, the Offer they made him was of ſo great Importance, that he deſir'd, before he reſolv'd, to adviſe with his Friends. The Reſult of which was, that he ought by no means to refuſe the Dignity voluntarily offer'd him by the *Engliſh*, ſince by ſo doing he wou'd put himſelf out of a Condition to reward his Followers, who had engag'd in his Cauſe, purely out of Hopes of placing him on the Throne. They entreated him therefore not to reject what Providence had been ſo kind as to throw in his way, and what had coſt him ſo much Blood already. The Duke, eaſily yielding to their agreeable Sollicitations, return'd in Anſwer to the *Engliſh* Lords and Magiſtrates of *London*, That he was ready to conſent to their Requeſt. Accordingly, he accepted the Crown, as their Gift, and tacitely acknowledg'd a Right of Election in the People of *England*, tho' the Manner in which he caus'd himſelf to be elected, was no great ſign of his being perſwaded they had that Right. And indeed, what Authority cou'd the

The Keys are deliver'd to him.

The Crown is offer'd him.

He accepts of it.

the Magiſtrates of *London* and a few Biſhops and Lay-Lords have to diſpoſe of the Crown without the Concurrence of the Eſtates? Notwithſtanding this eſſential Flaw in his Election, the Duke appointed *Chriſtmas-day* following for the Ceremony of his Coronation. In the Interim, as this Solemnity was to be perform'd at *London*, the Inhabitants whereof he ſuſpected, he order'd a Fortreſs to be run up in Haſte, which he garriſon'd with *Normans*.

His Coronation.

Stigand, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was then ſuſpended by the Pope, as an Intruder into that *See*, in the Room of *Robert*, who was never *Canonically* depriv'd. But notwithſtanding this, he exercis'd the *Archiepiſcopal* Functions, the *Engliſh* not being as yet convinc'd that the Pope's Power was of ſo large an Extent as he wou'd have it. However, the Duke, who lay under an Obligation to the Pope, and beſides was willing to avoid the Objections that might be made againſt his Coronation, if perform'd by a ſuſpended Biſhop, wou'd not receive the Crown from the Hands of *Stigand*. *Aldred* therefore, Archbiſhop of *York*, was appointed for this Ceremony. Before he ſet the Crown on his Head, the Archbiſhop, addreſſing to the *Engliſh*, asked them, whether they wou'd have the Duke of *Normandy* for their King? All the People having conſented by their Acclamations, the Biſhop of *Conſtance* put the ſame Queſtion to the *Normans*, who anſwer'd in the ſame manner as the *Engliſh*. This laſt Circumſtance evidently makes appear that the Duke had then reſolv'd to make the *Engliſh* and *Normans* but one and the ſame People. Otherwiſe there wou'd have been no Occaſion to ask the Conſent of the *Normans*, to make him King of *England*. What follow'd plainly ſhow'd that this was his real Intention. The Archbiſhop of *York*, continuing the Ceremony, plac'd the Duke on the Throne, and adminiſtred to him the Oath uſually taken by the *Saxon* Kings. The Subſtance of the Oath was, That *he wou'd protect the Church and its Miniſters: That he wou'd govern the Nation with equity; That he wou'd enact juſt Laws, and cauſe them to be ſtrictly obſerv'd;*

Takes the uſual Oath.

ſerv'd; and that he wou'd forbid all Rapines and unjuſt Judgments. *Malmsbury* adds, that he promis'd to behave himſelf mercifully towards his Subjects, and govern the *Engliſh* and *Normans* by the ſame Laws. If this Hiſtorian does not deceive us, it may be inferr'd from this laſt Article, that this Prince had already determin'd to ſettle the *Normans* in *England*. There are ſome Writers however that aſſure us, King *William* took no Oath at all, having refus'd to have his Hands tied up by thoſe whom he had vanquiſh'd. But in all appearance they are in the wrong. King *William* had accepted of the Crown as a Gift, and conſequently he had no Reaſon to diſpenſe with the uſual Oath. In the next Place, it can't be ſaid that any but the *Londoners* had acknowledg'd him for King. All the Reſt of the Kingdom being ſtill to conquer, what Probability is there that a Prince of his Abilities, ſhou'd at ſuch a Conjuncture, let the *Engliſh* ſee he deſign'd to rule them with an arbitrary Sway. In fine, tho' he has the Sirname of *Conqueror* given him, yet is it certain, that he never openly pretended to poſſeſs the Crown by Right of Conqueſt, but on the contrary, he was extremely careful to avoid having his Title ever clearly made out.

Among all the lucky Turns, which contrary to all Appearance King *William* met with in the Execution of his Undertaking, that which I am going to relate, is one of the moſt ſurpriſing. He had indeed gain'd a Battle, which had given him an Opportunity of approaching *London*; and altho' he cou'd ſcarce have taken that City, if the Burgeſſes and the Reſt of the Kingdom wou'd but have done their Duty, the Gates had been open'd to him, and the Crown ſet on his Head. But as he was crown'd without the Advice and Conſent of the whole Nation beſides, he ſeem'd to have Work enough ſtill to go thro' with the Conqueſt of a Country, which had withſtood, for Ages together, the Arms of the *Romans*, *Saxons*, and *Danes*. And yet as ſoon as it was known that he had been crown'd at *London*, he was every where acknowledg'd for King, without any one's offering to diſpute with him

the Poſſeſſion of a Crown, to which 'twas not ſo much as known by what Right or Title he cou'd poſſibly lay Claim. In all probability, if the *Engliſh* had reſolv'd to elect a King of their own Nation, whether *Edgar* or any other, King *William* wou'd have ſtill found many Difficulties to get over. Let us ſuppoſe for a Moment, that this elected King had drawn together an Army in ſome Place at a Diſtance from *London*, what a Perplexity wou'd King *William* have been in? He cou'd not have remov'd from *London* and *Dover*, without a manifeſt Hazard of loſing the Capital City; neither cou'd he have ſtaid at *London* without giving the Enemy's Army time to grow to a great Head. The bare mention of this Conſideration is ſufficient to let us ſee how extremely lucky 'twas for *the Conqueror* to meet with no Oppoſition. The Reader will, of his own Accord, reflect on a thouſand other Rubbs King *William* wou'd have found in his way, if the *Engliſh* had determin'd, even after the Battle of *Haſtings*, to make a vigorous ſtand. Moſt certainly, the more one conſiders this Enterpriſe, the more one finds ſomething extraordinary, I had almoſt ſaid, ſupernatural, in it.

1067. *The King diſtributes* Harold's *Treaſures.*

The firſt thing the New King did after his Coronation, was to ſeize on the Treaſure *Harold* had laid up at *Wincheſter*. He diſtributed Part of it among the principal Officers of his Army, and Part he beſtow'd on the *Churches* and *Monaſteries*, in order to gain the Reputation of a Pious and Religious Prince. The Pope had alſo a ſhare, whether he had lent the King any Money, or the King was willing to ſhow his Gratitude for the Favours he had receiv'd from him, when he embark'd in his Enterpriſe. At the ſame time, he ſent to *Rome* the late King's Standard, as a ſort of Homage to the *Holy See*, and as a Teſtimony that the Conqueſt of *England* was undertaken with the Pope's Approbation. *Harold*'s Treaſures being thus diſtributed, there was a neceſſity of thinking upon Ways and Means to fill the new King's Coffers. To this End, it was intimated to the Cities and Corporations and moſt wealthy of the Subjects, that it wou'd not be amiſs to gain the Good-will of their new Maſter by making

W. Poict.

The Cities and Corporations make him Preſents.

making him ſome Preſent. Every one having chearfully agreed to the Propoſal, the Preſents brought the King in a very conſiderable Sum. 1067.

The Moderation of the King towards the *Engliſh* in the Beginning of his Reign, gave them room to hope they were going to enjoy ſolid Happineſs under the Government of a Prince, who ſeem'd to have their Intereſts at Heart. He exhorted the principal Officers of his Army to treat the Vanquiſh'd with the Moderation due from one Chriſtian to another. He entreated them to refrain from all kinds of Inſults towards the *Engliſh*, leaſt by their Injuries, they ſhou'd provoke them to take up Arms. As for the inferior Officers and Soldiers, he publiſh'd ſevere Edicts againſt ſuch as ſhou'd violate the Chaſtity of the Women, or give the leaſt Subject of Complaint to the Natives. After this, he confirm'd by a publick Edict the People's Privileges, and all the Promiſes he had made upon that ſcore. If we were to judge of Princes by their *Manifeſto's*, or by the Expreſſions in their Edicts, we ſhou'd be apt to imagine, they always made Juſtice and Equity the ſole Rule of their Conduct. But it happens but too frequently that their Actions ill correſpond with their Words. Theſe ſort of *Publick Acts* ſeldom fail however of producing a preſent Effect, which is generally the only End propos'd: King *William*'s found the *Engliſh* diſpoſed to truſt to his magnificent Promiſes. They were ſo far from taking any Meaſures for the Preſervation of their Liberties, that they ſuffer'd themſelves to be carried away with this ſeeming Indulgence. Theſe happy Beginnings made them believe that the *Conqueror*, in imitation of *Canute the Great*, who had behav'd in the ſame Manner, wou'd do his utmoſt Endeavours to gain the Affections of the People, that he might enjoy his Conqueſts in Peace and Tranquillity. W. Poict. *He protects the Engliſh from violence.*

How great a Regard ſoever the King ſhow'd for the *Engliſh*, he cou'd not forbear being under ſome Miſtruſt on their Account, perſwaded as he was that their Submiſſion proceeded rather from Fear than Good-will. A few Days after his Coronation he retired from *London* to *He is jealous of them.*

1067. *Berking*, not daring to ſtay in that great City, whoſe Fidelity he had ſome Suſpicion of. But as he was hardly any more ſecure of the Reſt of the Nation, he placed ſtrong Garriſons in *Haſtings*, *Dover*, and *Wincheſter*, to prevent the *Engliſh* from having any Thoughts of ſhaking off the Yoke he had juſt laid upon them. Theſe Precautions of his had no ill Effect on their Minds. They conſidered them as abſolutely neceſſary, in the Beginning of ſo great a Revolution, and were not at all alarmed at them. On the contrary, They who had hitherto refuſed to acknowledge the new King, came and ſubmitted to him in Crowds: *Edwin* and *Morkard*, who had begun to concert Meaſures for the Defence of their Country, dropped all their Schemes. As they were convinced of the Sincerity of the King, as well as the reſt of their Countrymen, they went and ſwore Fealty to him at *Berking*. He omitted nothing that might contribute to the keeping up theſe good Diſpoſitions in them. He not only aſſured them of his Protection, but even in their Preſence conferr'd upon Prince *Edgar* large Poſſeſſions, who was the Idol of the *Engliſh*, and generally ſtiled *England's Darling*.

Edwin and Morkard ſubmit.

Founding Battle-Abbey. M. Paris.

The Victory of *Haſtings* redounded too much to the King's Glory for him not to tranſmit the Memory of it to Poſterity. With this view, he laid the Foundations of a Church and Abbey, in the very Place where *Harold* was ſlain, and ordered that when they ſhould be finiſhed, the Church ſhould be dedicated to St. *Martin*, and the Monaſtery called *Battle-Abbey* *. Tho' the Deſire of having the Soul of *Harold* and his own prayed for, was made the Pretence of founding this *Religious Houſe*, yet in all probability the Love of Glory had no leſs a ſhare in it than Devotion. The three firſt Months of his Reign paſſed in this manner to the mutual Satisfaction of the

* In this Abbey was kept an antient Liſt of all the Noble Families that came over with King *William*; it was call'd *Battle-Abbey-Roll*, of which *Stow* and *Hollingſhead* have given us Copies, tho' with ſome little Difference.

the *Engliſh* and *Normans*. The Former believ'd they were no great Loſers by the late Revolution, and the Latter liv'd in hopes the King wou'd make good the Promiſes he had made them when they engag'd in his Service. 1067.

King *William*'s cautious Proceedings having procur'd him an univerſal Submiſſion, he thought his Happineſs wou'd not be complete, unleſs he had the Satisfaction of going to *Normandy* and appearing there in his new Grandeur. This Journey was not only unneceſſary, but ſeemingly very dangerous, in the Beginning of an Empire eſtabliſhed by Arms. He imagined however he ſhould be able to prevent all Revolts during his Abſence by theſe two Means. Firſt, by placing ſtrong Garriſons of *Normans* in all the Caſtles. Secondly, by carrying along with him ſuch of the *Engliſh* Lords as he moſt ſuſpected. Of this Number were Prince *Edgar*, *Stigand*, *Morkard*, *Edwin*, *Waltheoff* Son of *Siward* formerly Earl of *Northumberland*, with ſeveral others of the Prime Nobility. Theſe Lords were not over-pleaſed with the Honour he did them, being ſenſible he carried them with him but as ſo many Hoſtages, and to add to the Glory of his Triumph. However they were forc'd to comply, for fear of giving him Occaſion to ſuſpect them by an unſeaſonable Oppoſition to his Will. Before he left *England*, he committed the Government of the Kingdom to his Brother *Odo* Biſhop of *Bayeux* and *William Fitz-Osborn*. There was no End of the Rejoicings among his old Subjects upon his Arrival in *Normandy*. He ſpent his *Chriſtmas* * at *Feſcamp*, where the *French* Ambaſſador *†, attended with a numerous Retinue of Nobles, came to congratulate him in his Maſter's Name upon his new Dignity. On this Occaſion the King affected to appear in the Eyes of the *French* with all

The King goes into Normandy, and carries with him ſeveral of the Engliſh Nobility. Malm. Brompton.

He appoints two Regents.

* *Rapin* muſt be miſtaken, it could not be his *Chriſtmas* but *Eaſter*, ſince he went over in *March*, and return'd again to *England* in the Beginning of the Winter following.

*† *Rodolph* the Potent, Father-in-law to the King of *France*.

1067. all the Magnificence he thought capable of ſetting off the Luſtre of his Glory. He paſſed the reſt of the Winter in *Normandy*, where he ſeem'd to have forgotten his *New*, amidſt the Acclamations of his *Old*, Subjects.

The Regents oppreſs the People. Vital. Malm. Fl. Wor. Whilſt he was giving the *Normans* Marks of his Affection by his ſtay among them, his Abſence proved fatal to *England*. *Odo* his Brother and *William Fitz-Osborn*, whom he had left Regents, very indiſcreetly abuſed the Authority he had entruſted them with. Wholly taken up in enriching themſelves by all manner of Means, they were ſo far from protecting the *Engliſh* who made their Complaints to them, that they not only ſuffered them to be harraſſed by others, but they themſelves oppreſs'd them by continual Acts of Tyranny. To ſee theſe two Regents proceed with ſo little Circumſpection, one would have been apt to think, they had Orders to ſtir up the People to revolt, on purpoſe to make them incur the Puniſhment. The moſt Prudent however kept to their Allegiance, being perſwaded that the King, at his Return, would rectify theſe Diſorders. But others that were more impatient were of Opinion that they thought to take the Advantage of his Abſence, to attempt the Recovery of their Liberty. The *Kentiſh-men* were the firſt that led the way. They called in to their Aſſiſtance *Euſtace* Earl of *Boloign* who endeavoured to ſurpriſe *Dover* Caſtle. But not ſucceeding in his Attempt, as he was in hopes to have done, he retir'd to his Ships, leaving the *Kentiſh-men* to the Mercy of the Regents, who treated them very ſeverely.

Gemet.

Edrick's *Revolt.* Hoved. Notwithſtanding this, *Edrick*, an *Engliſh* Lord, to whom Hiſtorians have given the Sirname of *Foreſter*, took up Arms in the County of *Hereford*, and barbarouſly us'd all the *Normans* that fell into his Hands. News of this being brought the King, he immediately embarked for *England*, committing the Government of *Normandy* to *Matilda* his Wife, and *Robert* his eldeſt Son. His Return appeaſed the Storm his Abſence had raiſed. But theſe two Attempts gave him ſo great a Suſpicion of all the *Engliſh* in general, that he began from that time to look upon

The King returns.

on them as ſo many ſecret Enemies, who ſought an Opportunity to revolt. This Opinion of His was not without Grounds. When one conſiders his Temper, and the State of the *Engliſh* with reſpect to him, 'tis eaſy to ſee, that it was hardly poſſible there ſhould be that mutual Confidence between them which would have been ſo neceſſary to their common Tranquillity. The King was naturally miſtruſtful and rigid. On the other hand, his great Armament had run him vaſtly in Debt. Beſides he lay under an Obligation of liberally rewarding the Officers who had engag'd in his Service, and all this was to be done at the Expence of the *Engliſh*. To this may be added, that he was naturally covetous, greedy of having a great deal of Money, not to expend but to hoard it up. In fine, his Partiality to his own Nation was exceſſive, and prevented him very often from giving Ear to the Complaints of the *Engliſh* againſt the *Normans*, who made a very ill uſe of the King's Good-will towards them. On the other ſide, the *Engliſh* were extremely prejudic'd againſt the *Normans*. This Prejudice, which had begun in the Reign of King *Edward*, and been fomented by Earl *Goodwin* and *Harold* his Son, had ſtill been increaſed ſince the late Revolution. How great care ſoever the King had taken to recommend Moderation to the *Normans*, there was no Poſſibility of hindering them from abuſing the Superiority their Victory had given them over the *Engliſh*, and from inſulting them in their Misfortunes. This was no very proper Method to keep up a good Intelligence between the two Nations. Beſides the King had built his Right to the Crown upon ſo ſlight a Foundation, that the *Engliſh* could not but look upon him as a greedy and ambitious Prince, who had form'd the Project of his Enterprize upon *England*, purely out of a Motive to gratify his Paſſions. Laſtly, the Adminiſtration of the two Regents during his Abſence, gave Occaſion to think, that they would not have carried their Exceſſes and Rapines to that Height, had they not been aſſured of their Maſter's Approbation. However the thoughts of the Mildneſs of his Government for the

1067.

Reaſons of the Miſunderſtanding between the King and the Engliſh.

the three firſt Months of his Reign, had in ſome Meaſure caus'd theſe Reflections to vaniſh, and diſſipated all their Fears. But when they found that after his Return he not only neglected to puniſh the Regents, but even to approve of their Conduct, they could not contain any longer. They every where ſpread their Complaints and Murmurs, and openly ſhow'd how much they were diſſatisfied. Then it was, the King's Suſpicions daily increaſing, he took up a Reſolution to be on his Guard, and uſe all poſſible Means to prevent the Diſcontents of the *Engliſh* from breaking out into a Flame. As his Temper inclin'd him to Severity, the Methods he made uſe of were of that Nature: To which he was prompted by the *Normans*, whoſe Intereſt it was that he ſhould undertake to bring the *Engliſh* under by Force, rather than endeavour to gain them by fair Means. This is the moſt that can be ſaid in his Favour, tho' there are ſome, who charge him with having form'd a Deſign of reducing *England* to a State of Slavery, before ever he had receiv'd any Provocation. Be this as it will, the mutual Truſt and Confidence between the King and his new Subjects was ſoon broken, and from that time he thought of nothing but how to eſtabliſh himſelf on the Throne, without nicely examining whether the Means he made uſe of were conſonant to Juſtice and Equity.

Matilda *is crown'd* *Birth of Prince* Henry.

Not long after the King's Return, *Matilda* his Wife came into *England*, and was crown'd with great Solemnity. This ſame Year ſhe was brought to bed of a Son, nam'd *Henry*. Her other Sons were born in *Normandy*, namely, *Robert*, *Richard* and *William*, the eldeſt of whom was about 12 Years of Age.

1008. *The King rewards his Troops.*

The King had hitherto delay'd the rewarding thoſe who had voluntarily aſſiſted him in his Expedition againſt *England*. Beſides the Salaries that were due to them, they expected to be made amends in proportion to their Services and the Power he had acquir'd by their Means. His ordinary Revenues not being ſufficient for this, there was a Neceſſity of having Recourſe to the *Engliſh*, whoſe Misfortune it was to be vanquiſh'd. To this End he bethought

bethought himſelf of an Expedient, which could not but be very ungrateful to them. This was to ſet on foot again *Dane-gelt*, which had been aboliſhed by *the Confeſſor*, and which brought back to their Remembrance the Calamities they had ſuffered under a Foreign Power. He had plainly foreſeen, the People would be extremely diſſatisfied at it, and therefore he had endeavoured to prevent the ill Effects their Diſcontents might produce, by careſſing the principal *Engliſh* Lords, as far as his reſerved Temper would permit him. He was moſt apprehenſive of Earl *Edwin*, who by his Birth, Honours, and perſonal Merit was in great Credit with his Countrymen. In order to prevent this Lord's laying hold of this Opportunity to raiſe new Commotions, he thought it his beſt way to ſecure him to his Intereſts by promiſing him one of his Daughters in Marriage. *Edwin* was very well pleaſed with the Propoſal, and inſtead of fomenting the Diſcontents of the *Engliſh*, he did all he could to quiet them. *Aldred* Archbiſhop of *York* was not ſo eaſily managed. This Prelate had entertained ſo high an Opinion of the King, that he was continually ſpeaking in his Praiſe. But when he ſaw that he began to pull off the Mask, by renewing a Tax ſo odious to the Nation, he was quite of another Mind. He ſent one to repreſent to him in his Name, the Injury he was doing the *Engliſh*, and the ill Conſequences that might follow. The King was nettled at this Remonſtrance, and ſharply rebuked the Perſon who durſt undertake to deliver it. 'Tis ſaid, *Aldred* was ſo ſenſibly touched with this Proceeding, that he could not forbear curſing the King and all his Race. It was a great Queſtion whether the Archbiſhop's Reſentment might not Occaſion ſome Troubles in the North. At leaſt the King ſeemed to be of that Opinion, by his ſending one of his Officers to him to endeavour to appeaſe him. But the Death of *Aldred*, which happened juſt then, freed the King from his Fears, and *Dane-gelt* was levied with all the Rigour imaginable. From that time forward nothing was heard but Murmurings and Complaints, which ſowring the King's Mind,

1068.

Reſtores Dane-gelt.

Archbiſhop of York *ſends a Remonſtrance to the King;*

which is ill received.

Death of Aldred.

Dane gelt *levied.*

1068. caused him to consider the *English* but as so many Rebels, as they on their side look'd upon him under the odious Idea of a *Conqueror*.

Divers Opinions about the King's Conduct towards the English.

Before I enter upon the Relation of the Troubles which happened in this Reign, it will be proper to remark, that Historians are very much divided in their Opinions concerning the Causes of them. Some cast all the Blame on the *English*, and give us to understand that the King used no Severity till he found milder Means were in vain. Others maintain, that the King's ill Usage of the *English* was the sole Cause of their Revolts. To decide this Question, it would be necessary to inquire how far the Power of a Prince might extend, who had acquired the Possession of the Crown in the manner we have seen, and how far the Obedience of a Nation was due, who had submitted partly by Compulsion, partly of their own accord. But in this very Point, Men perhaps would be no less divided in their Opinions. 'Tis sufficient therefore to observe, that among the Historians who have wrote of *William the Conqueror*, some have display'd all his good Qualities in their best Colours, whilst they have but slightly touched upon his Faults. Others have endeavoured to represent all his Actions to the greatest Disadvantage, and have aggravated even such as might be easily justified. So far is certain, the *English* were ill-treated in his Reign. This the greatest Sticklers for the *Conqueror* and his Race cannot deny. But they alledge in his Excuse, the Necessity he was in of standing on his Guard against the *English* ever prone to revolt. Others on the contrary ascribe the ill-treatment the *English* met with solely to the avaritious Temper of the King, and affirm, their Revolts were entirely owing to their Grief and Despair. Amidst this Diversity of Opinions, the Course I shall take will be plainly to relate such Facts as are uncontested, without making any Reflections, that the Reader may be left at Liberty to judge of them as he shall think proper.

Fl. Wor. Hunt. As Matters stood between the King and the *English*, 'twas very hard for them to sit still and not endeavour at some

ſome Means to ſhake off a foreign Yoke, which to them ſeem'd inſupportable. The Inſurrections began in the *Weſtern* Parts, where the Inhabitants of *Exeter* refuſed to take their Oath to the King, and admit a *Norman* Garriſon. *William*, ſenſible of what Importance it was to put a ſtop to this Evil before it ſpread any further, marched in Perſon, though in the midſt of Winter, to reduce *Exeter* to Obedience. When he drew near the City, he was met by ſome of the principal Inhabitants who came to petition him for Pardon in the Name of the Corporation, and to give him Hoſtages. But whilſt the Deputies were with the King, the ordinary Sort of Townſmen having got the Upper-hand, diſapproved of their Proceedings, and reſolved to ſtand upon their Defenſe. *Gith*, Mother to King *Harold*, who was then in the City, buoy'd up the Inhabitants in their Reſolution, and in all probability, was the Perſon that put them upon it. In the mean time the King being advanced too far to retire with Honour, found himſelf obliged to beſiege the Town in Form, notwithſtanding the Sharpneſs of the Winter. The Army having made their Approaches, and beginning to batter the Walls, the Citizens ſaw they had no other Courſe to take but to implore the King's Mercy. How much ſoever the King was reſolv'd to make an Example of them, he yielded to the Intreaties of the Clergy, who were very inſtant with him for their Pardon. *Gith* had the good Fortune to eſcape into *Flanders* with a prodigious Quantity of Money. To prevent their riſing again, *William* order'd a Caſtle to be built in the City, and left it to the Care and Management of *Baldwin*, Son to Earl *Gilbert*, with a *Norman* Garriſon.

1068. Exeter *revolts.*

They ſubmit and are pardoned.

The King builds a Caſtle.

The King could not put off any longer the Payment of his Debts, and the Rewards he had ſo often promiſed his Troops. The Sums raiſed by the late Tax, which at firſt were deſigned for this Uſe, had been paid into the King's Treaſury, and he could not bear the Thoughts of letting the Money go again. He believed it abſolutely neceſſary to have a Reſerve ready upon any ſudden and unexpected Occaſion; eſpecially ſeeing the Diſcontents of the

He ſeeks the Means to pay his Debts.

1068. *English* gave him room to dread a general Revolt. And therefore, without meddling with that Money, he had Recourse to other Methods which greatly heighten'd the Dissatisfaction of the *English*. He sent Commissioners into all the Counties, to inquire who they were that had sided with *Harold*, and to confiscate their Estates. The *English* loudly exclaimed against this Proceeding, which seem'd to them very unjust. They alledged, that when they took up Arms for *Harold*, that Prince was in actual Possession of the Throne, having been elected at a Time when the Pretensions of *William* to the Crown were not so much as known; That before the Battle of *Hastings*, they had never taken their Oath to the Duke of *Normandy*, and consequently their Estates could not be liable to be forfeited for having born Arms against him; That besides, supposing they were guilty, they had made ample amends for their Fault by a ready Submission, which the King had accepted of, having even promised to protect them in their Rights and Privileges. These Reasons were very strong. But at this Juncture *William* acted with a View to *Politicks* rather than Justice. His Intent was not so much to punish them for their pretended Crime, as to come at a plausible Pretence to raise Money, and at the same time to put it out of their Power to hurt him, by depriving them of their Estates, a Thing he judged absolutely necessary for his Safety and Quiet. And therefore this Fact is slightly passed over by the Favourers of *William*. But by way of diverting the Reader's Thoughts from it, they set off to the best Advantage an Act of Justice, the King did upon this Occasion, by restoring a confiscated Estate to an *English* Lord who made appear that he never bore Arms against him *. However, we may be assured that this was one of the most remarkable Events of this Reign, seeing the Lands that were confiscated passed into the Hands of the *Normans* and other

* *Sharnburn* in *Norfolk*, which the *Conqueror* had given to *Warren* the *Norman*. But *Edwin* the Lord of it proving he had not sided with *Harold*, it was restored to him. *Tyrrel* calls this Fact in Question, because this Estate is not mentioned in *Doomsday Book*, as in Possession of the said *Edwin*.

ther Foreigners, who became by that Means more conſiderable in *England* that the *Engliſh* themſelves. From them are deſcended many noble Families now in being. Be this as it will, theſe Confiſcations were of great Service to the King upon two Accounts. *Firſt*, as they put him in a Capacity to pay his Debts, and reward his Followers. *Secondly*, as they gave him an Opportunity of ſtocking the Counties with ſuch as were devoted to him, and whoſe Intereſt it was to ſupport him on the Throne. 1068.

Whilſt the King was thus guarding againſt the *Engliſh*, he daily loſt ground in their Eſteem and Affections, and put them naturally upon ſearching after the Means of recovering the Eſtates they had been depriv'd of. *Edwin* Earl of *Cheſter*, one of the moſt conſiderable among them, thought it his Duty to attempt the reſtoring of the almoſt forlorn Affairs of his Country. The King had amuſed him with the Hopes of having one of his Daughters: but there was no likelihood he intended to be as good as his Word. On the contrary, the King ſeemed to want only ſome Pretence to involve him in the ſame Ruin with the reſt. *Morchar* his Brother, Earl of *Northumberland*, who was in much the ſame Condition, very readily engag'd in the Plot. As theſe two Lords had a very great Intereſt in the Kingdom, they had ſoon rais'd an Army which was reinforced by *Blethwin* King of *Wales* their Nephew, with a good Number of Troops. The King had reaſon to fear this Revolt would become general, unleſs he timely oppos'd its Beginnings. Accordingly he drew his Forces together with the utmoſt Expedition, before the Evil could ſpread any farther. In his March towards the Rebels, he fortified the Caſtle of *Warwick*, and made *Henry de Beaumont* Governor, who was alſo the firſt Earl of *Warwick*. At the ſame time he built likewiſe *Nottingham Caſtle*, that he might ſecure a Retreat in Caſe of Neceſſity, by the Means of theſe two Places. After having taken theſe Precautions, he continued his march towards the *North* in order to engage the Rebels, or to beſiege *York*, which had ſided with them.

Edwin *and* Mockar *revolt.*

Vital. Ann. Sax. Dunelm.

Brady.

In

1068. *They submit, and are pardon'd.*

In the mean time, the two Earls having been in hopes that the reſt of the Kingdom would follow the Example of the *North*, were very much deceived in their Expectations. The King's great Expedition, and the Superiority of his Forces having broken all their Meaſures, they found they were not able to ſtand againſt him. In this Extremity they had but two Ways to take, either to fly the Kingdom, or ſubmit to the King's Mercy. They took this laſt Courſe, and found their Account in it. How much ſoever the King might be incens'd, he very readily pardoned them, with a View to reclaim the *Engliſh* by this Act of Clemency. He kept on however his March towards *York*, the Inhabitants whereof, in no Condition to ſtand the Brunt of the War alone, came out to meet him, and delivered up the Keys of their City. By this Submiſſion they were pardoned as to corporal Puniſhments; but were forc'd to pay a large Fine, and had the Mortification to ſee a Caſtle built in their City and garriſon'd with *Norman* Soldiers. *Archil*, a *Northumbrian* Lord, who had been concerned in the Revolt, was alſo received into Favour upon delivering his Son as an Hoſtage. *Egelwin* Biſhop of *Durham* made his Peace likewiſe upon the ſame Account.

York *ſurrenders; where the King builds a Caſtle.*

The King's Clemency ſeems doubtful.

The King's Clemency towards the Heads of the Rebels might have had a good Effect, if at the ſame time that he pardoned ſome, he had not puniſh'd others who were leſs guilty. He order'd great Numbers to be ſhut up in Priſon, who had no hand at all in the late Revolt, and by that Means gave Occaſion to think the Mercy he had ſhown the Leaders was purely a Strain of his Policy. This Proceeding of his ſpread a Terror throughout the Kingdom, which was ſtill increas'd, when they ſaw Caſtles building at *Lincoln*, *Huntingdon*, *Cambridge*, which 'twas evident were deſign'd to keep the *Engliſh* in Awe. *Morchar* and the other *Northumbrian* Lords, dreading he had only deferr'd their Puniſhment 'till a more convenient Seaſon, retired into *Scotland*. Earl *Coſpatrick* was under the ſame Apprehenſions, and inſpir'd Prince *Edgar* with the ſame Thoughts, who thereupon went and took Refuge in the Court of *Scotland*, with his Mother and Siſters. *Mal-*

He builds Caſtles in ſeveral Places.

Several Lords with Prince Edgar *retire into* Scotland.

Colm

tolm Mocmoir, who was then on the Throne, receiv'd them with the Reſpect due to their Rank, and conſider'd them with regard rather to their Birth than their Fortune. He married ſoon after *Margaret*, *Edgar*'s eldeſt Siſter. From whom ſprang *Matilda*, Grandmother to *Henry* II. King of *England*, in whoſe Perſon the Royal Families of the *Saxons* and *Normans* were united. 1068. Malcolm *marries* Edgar's *Siſter.*

William was not at all concern'd at being thus rid of his ſecret Enemies, who gave him much leſs Uneaſineſs being in *Scotland*, than if they had ſtaid in *England*. However, the Flight of theſe Lords plainly diſcovering how the *Engliſh* ſtood affected towards him, he reſolv'd to take all poſſible Meaſures to ſcreen himſelf from their Reſentment. With this View he did two Things which were equally inſupportable. The firſt was to take from them their Arms. The ſecond, to forbid them having any Lights in their Houſes after eight a-Clock. At which Hour a Bell was rung to warn them to put out their Lights and cover their Fire, under the Penalty of a great Fine. The Sound of this Bell, which was called the *Curfew* *, was for a long time exceeding grating to the Ears of the *Engliſh*. When they reflected on the Sweets of Liberty, which they had enjoy'd under their antient Kings, they could not without extreme Regret behold themſelves reduc'd to ſuch a Slavery. If they did not obſerve this Order moſt exactly, they were immediately puniſh'd as if they had been guilty of ſome heinous Crime. So that this Bell was a Signal, which being repeated every Day conſtantly put them in mind of their wretched State. This Act of Oppreſſion join'd to a Thouſand others which they daily ſuffered from the Hands of the King, as well as from the Foreigners ſpread over the Kingdom, render'd their Lives bitter, and made them deplore their ſad and helpleſs Condition. In this manner ſeveral Hiſtorians repreſent the Affairs of the *Engliſh* at that Time. 1069. *The King takes from the* Engliſh *their Arms, and eſtabliſhes the* Curfew.

Whilſt *William* was thus guarding againſt the ſecret Practices of his Subjects, *Goodwin*, *Edmund* and *Magnus*, Sons to *Harold's Sons make a Defence.*

* *Couvre feu* or *Covsr-fire.*

1069. Dunelm. to *Harold*, made a Descent in *Somersetshire*. The only Opposition they met with was from *Eadnoth*, formerly Master of the Horse to the King their Father, who was willing to give *William* a Proof of his Fidelity by encountring these Princes. His Zeal for the new King prov'd fatal to him, seeing he was slain in the Battle; after which they made off loaden with Booty.

English and Normans complain one of another.

If we may believe the Historians who espouse the Side of the *English*, *England* was then in a State that deserv'd Commiseration. The *Normans* back'd by the King's Favour and Protection, daily committed Outrages against the *English*, for which these last could expect no Redress. Others, more Friends to the *Normans* than to the *English*, assure us, that the *English* vex'd at the Heart that the King's Measures should put it out of their Power to shake off a Yoke which they bore with extreme Impatience, found fault with the *Normans* in general. They add, that scarce a Day pass'd but the dead Bodies of assassinated *Normans* were found in the Woods or High-ways, without any possibility of discovering the Authors of these Murders, so firmly did the *English* stand by one another. In all Appearance the King was persuaded, that the *English* was wholly to blame, since he publish'd a severe Edict, wherein he order'd, that when a *Norman* should be slain or robb'd, the *Hundred* where the Act was done should be responsible for the Crime, and pay a large Fine. This Law was not new to the *English*. Ever since the Time of *Alfred the Great*, it had been in Force in the Kingdom (*a*). But what extremely offended them was, that this Edict was made in Favour of the *Normans* only.

Edict in favour of the Normans.

Several Normans *quit* England.

How gracious soever the King might be to the Foreigners, abundance of them desir'd leave to return into their own Country. The King readily granted their Request, after he had fully paid the Arrears due to them, and rewarded

(*a*) In the time of the *Danes*, when the Body of an unknown Person was found murder'd, 'twas taken for granted, 'twas a *Dane*, and the *Hundred* paid the Mulct. Thus *William* only reviv'd an old Custom by changing the Name of *Dane* into that of *Norman*. *Lambard*'s Hist. c. 40. p. 62.

ed them above their Expectation. All this was done at the Expence of the *Engliſh*, on whom were levied the Sums neceſſary to defray this Charge. 1069.

Occaſions of Complaint daily encreas'd on both Sides. The King complained that the *Engliſh* appeared ready upon all Occaſions to rebel; and the *Engliſh* looking upon themſelves as unjuſtly oppreſſed, loudly murmured at it. The *Northumbrians* were the moſt impatient. We have already ſeen in ſeveral Parts of this Hiſtory, that they had been wont to be as it were their own Maſters, and could not bear a State of Slavery. The ſame Spirit ſtill reigned among them. They could not refrain expoſtulating upon the leaſt Occaſion, and very often uſhered in their Complaints with ſome Inſurrection. The turbulent Temper of theſe People, and their Neighbourhood to *Scotland*, giving the King room to ſuſpect them, he reſolved to appoint them for Governor *Robert Cumin*, a *Norman* Lord, whoſe rugged Diſpoſition ſeemed proper to tame their Fierceneſs. They heard this News at the time a Project they had formed of calling in the *Danes* was juſt going to break out. Some of them who had taken refuge in *Denmark*, had perſwaded King *Sweyn*, that 'twould be an eaſy Matter for him to conquer *England*. They had even aſſured him in behalf of the *Northumbrians*, that they would aſſiſt him in his Undertaking. Upon this *Sweyn* had fitted out a Fleet of 200 Sail, which was ready to put to Sea at the time *Cumin* with 700 *Normans*, came and took Poſſeſſion of his Government. As his Arrival might prove very prejudicial to their Deſigns, the principal Contrivers of the Plot reſolved to get rid of the new Governour and his Attendants. Tho' he had notice of their Deſign, yet he thought it ſo little in their Power to hurt him, that he would take no warning. In the mean time the Conſpirators having privately drawn ſome Troops together, came to *Durham*, where *Cumin* was wholly unprovided for any Defence, and put him and his *Norman* Followers all to the Sword. Quickly after arrived the *Daniſh* Fleet under the Command of *Osborn* Brother to the King of *Denmark*. Upon News of which all the Male-contents went and joined the *Daniſh* General, who had

Robert Cumin *made Governour of* Northumberland. Dunelm.

The Northumbrians *call in the* Danes.

Cumin *ſlain, and the* Danes *land, and are join'd by the Male-contents.*

1069. had already landed his Troops. *Edgar Atheling*, *Cospatrick*, *Merleſweyn*, and all the other Lords who had retired into *Scotland*, brought him Reinforcements, which rendered his Army very formidable. As all *Northumberland* ſided with the *Danes*, and the King had not in thoſe Parts any Forces capable of withſtanding ſo numerous an Army, *Osborn* marched directly towards *York*. The *Norman* Garriſon there upon the Approach of the *Danes*, came to a Reſolution to hold out to the laſt Extremity, not doubting but the King would come to their Relief with all poſſible Expedition. In hopes of this, they ſet Fire to the Suburbs at the Foot of the Caſtle, that the Houſes might not be of any Service to the Beſiegers. But the Fire ſpreading farther than was deſigned, a great Part of the City was reduced to Aſhes. The Cathedral-Church, the Monaſtery of St. *Peter*, and a famous Library begun by Archbiſhop *Ecbert* about the Year 800, entirely periſhed in the Flames. In the mean while the *Danes* taking the Advantage of the Confuſion cauſed by this Accident, entered the City without Oppoſition. As ſoon as they were Maſters of it they attacked the Citadel ſo vigorouſly that they took it at the firſt Aſſault, and put the Garriſon to the Sword. After this the *Daniſh* General underſtanding the King was preparing to march againſt him, went and encamp'd on an Advantageous Piece of Ground, leaving in *York* Earl *Walthoff* with an *Engliſh* Garriſon.

They beſiege York.

The King dreads an univerſal Revolt.

The News of this Invaſion ſomewhat ſhook the King's Reſolution. He was afraid the *Danes* had been called in by a general Combination. Poſſeſs'd with this Notion, he durſt not quit the Heart of the Kingdom, for fear his Abſence ſhould give the reſt of the Male-contents an Opportunity to riſe. On the other Hand, 'twas no leſs dangerous to neglect the Affairs of the North, which might be attended with ill Conſequences. In this Perplexity, he believed his beſt way would be to endeavour to pacify the *Engliſh* by doing ſome Acts which ſeemed proper to that End. He recalled ſeveral whom he had baniſhed: He ſet others at Liberty, and affected by ſome Inſtances of Severity to repreſs the Inſolence of the *Normans*. His Fears being ſomewhat

ſomewhat abated by the good Effects of theſe Proceedings, he ſent the Queen and the Princes into *Normandy*, and then marched againſt the *Danes*. He was ſo exaſperated againſt the *Northumbrians*, that he was heard to ſwear by *God's Splendour*, he would not leave a Soul alive. As ſoon as he was entered *York-ſhire*, he began to put his Threatnings in Execution by terrible Ravages. In the mean Time the *Danes* kept their Poſts, where he durſt not attack them, well knowing that by hazarding a Battle, he ſtak'd his All againſt little or nothing. To extricate himſelf out of this Difficulty, he believed the beſt Courſe he could take, would be to bribe the General by Preſents. With this View he ſent private Emiſſaries to offer him a round Sum of Money, with leave to plunder the Country along the Sea-Coaſt, provided he'd go off before Winter was over. This Negotiation having ſucceeded to his Wiſh, *Osborn* retired in the Beginning of the Spring, for which he was ſeverely puniſhed by the King his Brother. The *Danes* being gone, *William* marched to *York*, in order to beſiege the City, which was defended by an *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Garriſon, under the Command of a brave Governour. This was Earl *Walthoff*, who by his Courage and Conduct, rendered the Siege ſo long and difficult, that the King began to deſpair of going through with it, when the want of Proviſions obliged the Beſieged to capitulate. How exaſperated ſoever the King might be, he readily granted honourable Terms to this brave Governour, whoſe Valour he had ſo often admired during the Siege. He was not ſatisfied with ſhowing him this Mark of his Eſteem, but gave him in Marriage his own Niece, Daughter to the Counteſs of *Albemarle*. Some time after he made him alſo Earl of *Northampton* and *Huntington*, and afterwards of *Northumberland*. He received likewiſe into Favour Earl *Coſpatrick*; but he puniſhed ſeverely the reſt of the Officers and Soldiers of the Garriſon, and laid a heavy Fine upon the Citizens of *York*. As ſoon as the Siege was over, and the King found it in his Power to be revenged on the *Northumbrians*, he ravaged their Country in ſo mercileſs a manner, that for 60 Miles together,

1069.

He bribes the Daniſh *General to go off.*

The King beſieges York.

Malm. Walthoff *bravely defends it. Capitulates, and is pardon'd*

Marries Judith *the King's Niece.*

The King ravages Northumberland.

1069. gether, between *York* and *Durham*, he did not leave a single House standing. He spared not even the Churches and other publick Edifices. This is what *William of Malmsbury*, though a *Norman*, durst not deny. His Pretence for thus laying his Country waste, was to prevent a second *Danish* Invasion. But the Manner he went to work, clearly proves he did it to glut his Revenge, and strike a Terror into the rest of the Kingdom. It is impossible, according to Historians, to represent to the Life the Miseries of the northern Counties. The Lands lying untilled, and the Houses being destroyed, People died in heaps, after having endeavoured to prolong their wretched Lives by eating of the most unclean Animals, and sometimes even human Flesh.

Malm. Dunelm.

1070. *The King treats the* English *very ill.*

The Step the *English* had taken in calling in the *Danes* into the Kingdom, thoroughly convinced the King that he should never be in peaceable Possession of the Crown till he had entirely put it out of their Power to execute the Plots they should form against him. This made him resolve to humble in such a Manner all those who had any Interest with the People, that they should not be able to do any thing considerable. It is true, many innocent Persons were to suffer in the Execution of this Scheme. But at that time it is certain *William* had an Eye to nothing but his own Security, without troubling himself whether the Means he made use of were consistent with Justice. To accomplish his Design, he on a sudden removed the *English* from such Posts as gave them any Power over their Countrymen. After which he seized upon all the *Baronies*, and all the *Fiefs* of the Crown in general, and distributed them among the *Normans* and other Foreigners who had followed him into *England*. But as these last were not so many in Number as those that were depriv'd of their Estates, he was obliged to load them, as I may say, with Benefits, in order to take all the *Crown-Lands* out of the Hands of the *English*. We may be satisfied by the following Instances, how profuse the King was in his Distributions. *Robert* his Brother by the Mother's Side, had for his Share the Earldom of *Cornwal*, where he had

He gives their Places and Estates to Normans.

Brady.

288

288 *Manors*, beſides 558 which he was in Poſſeſſion of in other Counties. *Odo* Biſhop of *Bayeux*, his other Brother, was made Earl Palatine of *Kent*, and *High Juſticiary of England.* This Prelate had 180 *Fiefs* in *Kent* alone, and 255 in ſeveral other Places. *William Fitz-Osborn* was rewarded with the whole Earldom of *Hereford.* *Hugh Lupus*, the King's Siſter's Son, was preſented by his Uncle with the County Palatine of *Cheſter*, with all the Royal Prerogatives, to hold it with the ſame Sovereign Power as the King himſelf held his Crown. *Alan Fergeant* Duke of *Bretaign*, the King's Son-in-law, had all Earl *Morthar*'s Eſtate, with the ſame Privileges as were granted to the Earl of *Cheſter.* *Roger de Montgomery* had firſt *Arundel* and *Chicheſter*, and afterwards *Shropſhire.* *Walter Giffard* had *Buckinghamſhire*, and *William Warren*, the County of *Surry.* *Eudes* Earl of *Blois*, was put in Poſſeſſion of the Lordſhip of *Holderneſs.* *Ralph de Guader* a *Breton*, was made Earl of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, and Lord of *Norwich.* *Henry de Ferrars* had given him *Tutbury-Caſtle.* *William* Biſhop of *Conſtance*, was poſſeſs'd of 280 *Fiefs*, which he left at his Death to *Robert Mowbray* his Nephew. 'Twould be endleſs to reckon up all the Donations the King granted to the Foreigners at the Expence of the *Engliſh.* Thoſe few above-mentioned are ſufficient to make appear that the King's Aim in theſe laviſh Proceedings was ſolely to deprive the *Engliſh* of their Eſtates. This therefore is a memorable *Epocha*, when, to ſpeak in the Language of the Hiſtorians, *England* was delivered into the Hands of Foreigners. One may eaſily gueſs that the Lords, to whom the King had diſtributed ſo many Eſtates, ſuffered none to *hold* of them but thoſe of their own Nation. Accordingly from that time, we hear no more of *Earldormans*, or *Thanes*, but of *Counts*, or *Earls*, *Viſcounts*, *Barons*, *Vavaſſors*, and other Titles taken from the *Norman* or *French* Tongue, which began to be introduced into *England* inſtead of the *Saxon* Names. So that it may be truly ſaid, *England* became *Norman.* Perhaps even its old Name would have been chang'd for that of *Normandy*, if ſome things, which will be ſpoken of in the following 1070.

1070. following Reigns, had not made the *Normans* ſettled in *England* deſirous of being looked upon as *Engliſh*, and even of ſtiling themſelves ſo. Be this as it will, from the Foreigners, who were then put in Poſſeſſion of theſe Eſtates, are derived a great Part of the moſt eminent Families this Day in the Kingdom.

The King breaks through the Clergy's Charters.

'Twas not only the *Engliſh* Nobility that were Sufferers by theſe Proceedings of the *Conqueror*. The *Clergy* had ſcarce any better Quarter. The *Saxon* Kings had granted to ſeveral Biſhops and Abbots *Fees* exempted from all *military* Service, denouncing in their Charters Imprecations againſt ſuch of their Succeſſors as ſhould dare to violate theſe Privileges. But *William*, not being in the Number of thoſe Princes who look upon what their Predeceſſors have ſettled as unalterable, cancelled all theſe Immunities. Church-Lands as well as the reſt, were oblig'd to find, in time of War, a certain Number of Horſemen, notwithſtanding the Clauſes in their antient *Charters* to the contrary. Such of the Clergy as refus'd to comply, only gave the King what he wanted, a Pretence to turn them out, in order to place Foreigners in their room. Moreover, he quartered upon the Monaſteries, almoſt all his Troops, and obliged the Monks to find them in Neceſſaries. By this Means he kept his Army without any Charge, and had Spies in all the *Religious Houſes*, who had an Eye over the Actions of the Monks.

He ſeizes the Money and Plate in the Monaſteries.

All this not being able to make the King eaſy, he bethought of a thing which drew upon him the Imprecations of the People, but eſpecially of the Monks. Some of his Emiſſaries having inform'd him, that ſeveral Perſons had lodg'd their Money and Plate in the Monaſteries, he took occaſion from thence to order all the *Religious Houſes* to be ſearched, and every Thing of value to be carried off, on pretence it belonged to the Rebels. Some Hiſtorians affirm, that he did not ſpare ſo much as the *Shrines* of the Saints and the conſecrated Veſſels. 'Tis very probable, that when the Clergy after the Battle of *Haſtings* were ſo eager to place this Prince on the Throne, 'twas purely for fear of loſing their Effects. But this laſt Action of his

his gave them but too much Reaſon to own how much they were out in their Politicks. 1070.

How ſevere ſoever the King had been to the *Clergy*, he did not think he had done enough yet. The great Credit of the Biſhops and Abbots ſtill making him uneaſy, he reſolv'd to get rid of ſuch as he moſt ſuſpected. To proceed in this Buſineſs ſo as to throw off the Blame from himſelf, he ſent for two Legates from *Rome*, who conven'd at *Weſtminſter* a Council, where every Thing went to his Mind. *Stigand*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was degraded for having intruded into the *See*, *Robert* his Predeceſſor not having been canonically depos'd. This was apparently done in Complaiſance to the Pope, ſeeing it does not appear that the King had any reaſon to complain of this Archbiſhop. The ſame Council alſo depos'd *Agelmer* Biſhop of *Eaſt-Anglia*, who reſided then at *Helmham*; *Algerick* Biſhop of *Durham*, and ſome others, whom the King did not like, fell likewiſe a Sacrifice to his Jealouſy. As for others againſt whom the Council had nothing to alledge, the King by his ſole Authority baniſh'd ſome the Kingdom, and threw the reſt into Priſon, without any legal Proceedings, or giving any other Reaſon but his *Good-Pleaſure*. After he had thus got rid of all thoſe that gave him any Uneaſineſs, he put in their room *Normans* or other Foreigners, for all were acceptable but *Engliſh*. He promoted *Lanfranc* an *Italian*, who was Abbot of a Monaſtery at *Caen*, to the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*, and *Thomas* a *Canon* of *Bayeux*, to that of *York*. Three of his Chaplains were made Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *Helmham*, and *Selſey*, and *Norman* Abbots were plac'd in the Monaſteries, from whence the *Engliſh* were outed. This however muſt be ſaid for the King, that he made choice of Perſons of diſtinguiſh'd worth to fill up the *Vacancies*.

Several Biſhops and Abbots are depoſed. Ingulph. Hoved.

Lanfranc *made Archbiſhop.* Hoveden.

I would have no one imagine that I have aggravated Matters in the leaſt, in what has been ſaid concerning the Uſage of King *William* towards the *Engliſh*, or that I have affected to follow thoſe who made it their Buſineſs to blacken his Reputation. They that will be at the pains to conſult the original Hiſtorians, will eaſily be convinc'd of the

1070. the contrary. They will see that there is not a single Circumstance but what is to be met with in the Histories written during his Life, or quickly after his Death, by Authors who have endeavour'd the most to justify his Conduct. 'Tis therefore a groundless Assertion of some of our modern Writers to say, that this Prince never acted as a *Conqueror*, but made the antient Laws and Constitutions of the Realm the constant Rule of his Proceedings.

The Revolts of the Abbot of St. Albans.

The King letting the *English* see by his whole Conduct, that his Design was to reduce them so low as to put it out of their Power ever to lift up their Heads again, some of the principal among them thought now was the Time or never, to make a vigorous Attempt to prevent their utter Ruin. *Fretheric*, Abbot of *St. Albans*, was one of the forwardest to inspire his Countrymen with this Resolution, and by the means of his Interest and Riches it was that a fresh Plot was laid to drive the King and the *Normans* out of the Kingdom. Matters were carried on with that Secrecy, that the Conspirators on a sudden drew an Army together, before the King had any Notice of their Proceedings. This Army being grown very numerous in a few Days, the Abbot of St. *Albans* sent for *Edgar Atheling* out of *Scotland*, and put him at the Head of the Male-contents, who acknowledg'd him for their King, and had him proclaimed in all the Places they were Masters of. This bold Enterprise made the King extremely uneasy, who liv'd in a constant Dread that some sudden Revolution would rob him of the Fruits of all his Labours. He communicated his Thoughts to *Lanfranc* the new Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who advised him to deal more gently with the *English*. He even gave him to understand that 'twas absolutely necessary to enter into a Negotiation with the Revolters, least the Flame, which was already kindled, might spread over the whole Kingdom. The King took his Advice, and after he had made a great many fair Promises, he found the Means to get the Leaders to come to a Conference at *Barkhamstead*, where they met the King. He calmly heard all their Complaints, and promis'd to redress their Grievances.

Edgar *proclaimed.*

He

He even ſwore on the holy Evangeliſts that he would eſtabliſh the antient Laws of the Realm, which went under the Name of *Edward* his Benefactor. This Condeſcenſion having pacified the Male-contents, they returned to the Army in order to diſmiſs their Troops, believing they had no further Occaſion for them. But nothing was farther from the King's Thoughts than the keeping his Oath, which he looked upon as extorted. A little after, he ordered a great Number of thoſe that had taken up Arms againſt him to be apprehended, ſome of them he put to death, and others were baniſh'd or clapp'd up in Priſon. Upon this, *Edgar* fled into *Scotland*, and the reſt took Refuge in *Ireland*, *Denmark*, *Norway*. The Abbot of St. *Albans* retired to the Iſle of *Ely*, where he died with Regret. As ſoon as the King heard of his Death, he ſeized upon the Monaſtery, and took from thence all that was valuable. He was reſolved to have utterly deſtroyed it, if *Lanfranc* had not prevailed upon him to deſiſt from his Deſign *. 1070.

The King's Severity to the Male-contents variouſly wrought on the Minds of the *Engliſh*. Some, terrified by it, reſolved to endure all Things, for fear of making Matters worſe by fruitleſs Attempts. Others not ſo paſſive, determined to run all Risks to free themſelves from a Yoke they could bear no longer. Theſe laſt retired to the *Iſle of Ely*, where was a rich Monaſtery, the Abbot whereof was their Friend. But this was not the only Reaſon that induced them to go thither. This Place, called an *Iſle* from its being ſurrounded with a Moraſs, was very ſtrong, and ſeemed proper to ſhelter them from the King's Deſigns upon them, when they ſhould have got together a ſufficient 1071. *Another Revolt.* Dunelm. *The Revolters retire to* Ely.

* The Account of this Revolt is only related by *Matthew Paris* in the Life of *Fretheric*, and for that Reaſon is by ſome called in queſtion. But as he could not well invent this Story, it is moſt probable he found it in the Annals of the Monaſtery of St. *Albans*. *Tyrrel* obſerves *Edgar Atheling* could not be concerned in it, ſeeing he had fled into *Scotland* near two Years before, and did not return to *England* till three Years after, though this Author makes him to have done this the Year before.

1071. Number of Men to defend it. *Edwin* and *Morchar* choſe to join them, being very ſenſible they ſhould be made the firſt Sacrifice to the King's Suſpicions, and not daring to truſt to his Promiſes any longer. Some time after, *Edwin* having reſolved to go into *Scotland*, where he thought he might be more ſerviceable to his Party, was murthered on the Road by his own Men. *Morchar* his Brother found in the *Iſle of Ely* a great many Perſons of Quality, with *Egelrick* and *Walter*, Biſhops of *Durham* and *Hereford*, all reſolutely bent to oppoſe to their utmoſt the deſpotick Power the King aſſumed to himſelf. Their Number being conſiderably increaſed by Multitudes of Male-contents flocking to them, they choſe for their Leader *Everard* *, Nephew to the Biſhop of *Peterborough*, who was looked upon as the braveſt and beſt Soldier in the Kingdom. He had been baniſhed in the Reign of King *Edward*, for ſome Outrages he had committed in his Neighbourhood, and had retired into *Flanders*, where his Valour had gained him a great Reputation, and raiſed him to eminent Poſts. The Death of his Father obliging him to return into *England*, he found his Eſtate given away to a *Norman*. He demanded the Reſtitution of it, but not being able to obtain it by a legal Proceſs, he drove out the Foreigner by Force, and took Poſſeſſion. This was preciſely at the time, when coming to *Ely* to avoid the King's Reſentment, he was choſen General by the Male-contents. As his Reputation was very great, and as thoſe who ſhow'd Marks of Courage and Reſolution, were as formidable to the King as thoſe who durſt not reſiſt him were deſpicable, he created in the King a great deal of Uneaſineſs. The Honour he had juſt then received having animated him with freſh Ardour, and a Deſire of letting them ſee he was not unworthy of it, he ſet about making all the Preparations neceſſary for a vigorous Defence, plainly foreſeeing 'twould not be long before he was attack'd. Whilſt he was laying in Stores, he cauſed all the acceſſible Places of the

* *Hereward.*

the Iſle to be carefully fortified, and took all other Precautions, which might render a Siege the more difficult. 1071.

William, knowing who he had to deal with, marched with all poſſible ſpeed to attack him, in hopes to come upon him before he ſhould be prepared. But *Everard* had already guarded againſt his Entrance into the Iſle, by ordering a Caſtle of Wood to be run up in the Moraſs, which could not be aſſaulted, and which defended the only Paſſage to the Beſieged. In ſpite of theſe ſeemingly inſurmountable Difficulties, *William* was reſolved upon a Siege, or rather a Blockade. He was in hopes to reduce them by Famine, and to have them all together at his Mercy, ſeeing the ſame thing that prevented his Approaches, was an invincible Obſtacle to their Flight. With this view it was that he built a Bridge over the Moraſs two Miles in length, by the Means of which he depriv'd the Beſieged of all hopes of Succours. However, though he had ſpent a great deal of Time in the Siege, he was never the nearer, ſince the Rebels had a prodigious Store of Proviſions. Theſe Delays made him very uneaſy, as well upon account of the Affair in Hand, as becauſe they prevented him from marching againſt the King of *Scotland*, who had taken this Opportunity to make Incurſions into the Northern Counties. At length, when he began to deſpair of ſucceeding in his Enterpriſe, a lucky Thought made him Maſter of the Place.

Where they are blocked up by the King. M. Paris.

The King of Scotland *invades the* North.

The Monaſtery of *Ely* holding without the Limits of the Iſle ſeveral Manors, from whence the greateſt Part of their Revenues aroſe, the King was adviſ'd to ſeize them, in order to reduce the Monks to Obedience out of fear of loſing them. He had no ſooner done this and diſtributed the Lands among his Courtiers, but *Thurſtan* the Abbot, not being able to withſtand the Clamours of the Monks, ſought the Means to recover their Eſtates again. He could think of no properer Method than the procuring the King's Favour by ſome conſiderable Piece of Service. To this End, he privately ſent and offer'd the King to put him in Poſſeſſion of the *Iſle of Ely*, with all thoſe that were in it, and to pay him a Thouſand Marks, on condition the

The Abbot of Ely *delivers up the* Iſle.

1071. Lands that were seized were restored to the Monastery. This Offer was gladly accepted of, and the Abbot perform'd his Promise: but Historians have not acquainted us how he did it. However that be, the Male-contents were constrained by the Abbot's Treachery to submit to the King's Mercy.

Hoveden. *Paris.* *Everard* alone escap'd, having opened a way with his Sword through some Guards that defended a certain Pass. Of those that were taken in the Isle, some had their Eyes put out, or their Hands cut off, others were shut up in Baker. divers Prisons. Among these last were Earl *Morchar*, with *Egelrick* Bishop of *Durham*, who having been so hardy as to excommunicate the King, was sent to *Abington*, where he was starved to Death. The Monks of *Ely* were likewise chastis'd, tho' they had taken all imaginable care to perform the Articles of Capitulation. When they came to pay the Money they had stipulated for, upon its wanting only a Groat, they were forced to pay another Thousand Marks. Neither did they come off so: The King quarter'd upon them forty Knights, for whom they were oblig'd to find all Necessaries.

The King of Scotland *continues his Ravages.* Whilst the King was taken up in the Siege of *Ely*, *Malcolm* continued his Ravages in the North, with a Barbarity very unworthy a Christian Prince, if it was such as the *English* Historians have described it. They Hoveden. tell us, the *Scotch* ripp'd up the Bellies of Women with Child, cut the Throats of the old Men, and tos's'd young Children into the Air to receive them on the Points of their Swords. But in all appearance these things have been greatly aggravated, as well as the Number of the *English* Slaves that were carried into *Scotland*, where 'tis said there was not a House but had one. Cospa- trick *invades* Cumber- land. *Cospatrick*, who was then Governor of *Northumberland*, not being strong enough to make head against the King of *Scotland*, made an Incursion into *Cumberland*, where he reveng'd on the *Scots* the Calamities their Countrymen had brought on the *English*. This Expedition did but the more exasperate the King of *Scotland*, who took Occasion from

from thence to carry on his Ravages the more furiouſly in *Northumberland*. *William* could not bear theſe Inſults: But the Affair of *Ely* ſeeming to him of the greater Importance, he was willing to ſee it over. As ſoon as it was ended, he marched into *Galloway*, where however he only fatigued his Army to little Purpoſe. In the mean Time *Malcolm*, who was retir'd into *Scotland*, endeavour'd to prolong the War, in hopes ſome new Troubles, of which he might take the Advantage, would unexpectedly ariſe in *England*. The ſame Reaſon oblig'd *William* to put an End to it as ſoon as poſſible. The readieſt way to do this, he thought was to follow the *Scots* into the Heart of their Country, that the Dread of a Battle, which to them might prove fatal, might compel them to ſtrike up a Peace. This Reſolution ſucceeded as he expected. *Malcolm*, who was unwilling to hazard a Battle in his own Kingdom, having offer'd to accommodate Matters by a Treaty, he was of Opinion, he ought not to be in the leaſt Suſpence whether he ſhould put an End to a War, which the Circumſtances of his Affairs made him look upon as extremely dangerous. Beſides he ſeem'd ever ſince the Battle of *Haſtings* reſolv'd never to run any Risk. This was the Reaſon of his not fighting the *Danes* before, and in all probability he acted now upon the ſame Grounds with regard to the *Scots*. Be this as it will, the Bounds of the two Kingdoms were ſet out * by the Treaty, and *Malcolm* did him Homage. Some *Engliſh* Writers *1 pretend this Homage was done for all *Scotland*; but the *Scotch* affirm 'twas only for *Cumberland*. And indeed that is moſt likely, ſince there is no Probability that *Malcolm*, who had not receiv'd the leaſt Check, ſhould ſtoop ſo low as to do Homage for his whole

1072. *The King marches into* Scotland.

An. Sax. Ingulph. Hoveden. Pol. Virg.

A Treaty between the two Kings.

* *Hector Boetius* ſays, That in Memory of this Peace, there was a *Stone-Croſs* erected in the Middle of the Mountains of *Stanemore* in *Yorkſhire*, which we call *Rere Croſs*, and the *Scots*, *Rey-Croſs*, that is, *Royal-Croſs*, having the Arms of both Kings engraven on the ſeveral Sides of it, which was for the future to ſerve as a Boundary to the two Kingdoms, the Remainders of which Croſs is ſtill to be ſeen.

*1 *Holinſhead* and other modern Authors. *Ingulphus* ſays only *Malcolm* did Homage, without telling us for what.

1072. whole Kingdom. I am very ſenſible, 'tis aſſerted that *William* had a Right to demand it: But this is not a Place to enter into this Diſpute, the Diſcuſſion whereof will more properly come in elſewhere.

Several Families ſettle in Scotland. The good Reception *Malcolm* gave all the *Engliſh Refugees*, drew great Numbers of them into his Dominions, where ſome of them procured Settlements which oblig'd them to continue there. From theſe are deriv'd ſeveral conſiderable Families at this Day in *Scotland*. Some will have it, that the *Engliſh* brought thither their Language, with the Titles of *Duke*, *Earl* and *Baron*; but *Buchanan* affirms, they were in uſe there before that Time. He freely owns indeed, that the *Engliſh* introduc'd into *Scotland* Luxury, Pride, Wantonneſs, Drunkenneſs and other Vices, to which he pretends his Countrymen were Strangers to before. Among the chief of the Refugees was Earl *Coſpatrick*, who had been depriv'd of his Government, under Pretence of his having a Hand in the Death of *Cumin*, tho' he had after that done the King very ſignal Services. He was ſucceeded by Earl *Walthoff*, the only *Engliſh* Lord, for whom *William* had any Kindneſs left. But he did not keep long in his good Graces, for which he was principally indebted to his Wife, who was the King's Niece.

Walthoff *made Earl of* Northumberland.

1073. *The King of* France *attacks* Normandy. The *French* having afforded *William* ſufficient Time to ſettle himſelf on the Throne of *England*, without giving him the leaſt Moleſtation, he was in hopes ſince they had not taken the Advantage of the late Troubles in *England*, they would be ſtill leſs inclined to diſturb him, after his having entirely brought his *Engliſh* Subjects under. But on a ſudden *Philip*'s Jealouſy reviving, he could not ſee without Regret, the King of *England* in ſo proſperous a Condition. He blamed himſelf for having been ſo impolitick as not to aſſiſt the *Engliſh* Male-contents, and reſolv'd to make amends for his Fault by attacking *Normandy*. He did this no doubt in hopes the *Engliſh* would be induc'd by it to revolt, and by that means detain *William* in *England*. Whatevet his Thoughts were, he ſuddenly in-

Ann. Sax. Malm.

vaded

vaded *Normandy*, without any Declaration of War. Upon News of this, *William* went over with an Army wholly consisting of *English*, he not having dared to carry his *Norman* Troops out of the Kingdom. Besides, he chose rather to expose the *English* than *Normans*, who were absolutely necessary for the Preservation of his Conquest. With these Forces, he retook *Mans* and all the Province of *Maine*, which had lately revolted, the *English* taking a Pride in faithfully serving him in *Normandy*, whilst in *England* he treated them with great Rigour. *Philip* not having had the Success he expected, soon grew weary of the War, and put an End to it by concluding a Peace with the King of *England*. 1073.

Quickly after this Treaty Prince *Edgar*, tir'd with living in a Foreign Country, came to the King, and begging his Pardon submitted himself to his Will. He met with a favourable Reception, and had an Allowance given him of a pound of Silver a Day. From that Time he remain'd all along in Obedience without giving the King the least Uneasiness. If he had any Occasion to complain, 'twas not so much of *William* as of the *English*, who after the Death of *Edward* had preferr'd a private Person before him. 'Twas not *Edgar* that *William* had depriv'd of the Crown, but *Harold*, who in all Appearance, if he had been able to keep it, would have left it to his Son, without troubling himself about the Rights of the *Saxon* Prince. On the other hand it must be confest, that *Edgar* had reason to be satisfied with *William*'s Clemency, who was very willing to receive him into Favour, notwithstanding the Mistrust he might justly entertain upon his Score. Edgar Atheling *submits to the King.*

Whilst the King was in *Normandy*, *Gregory* VII, the boldest and most enterprising Pope that ever sat in the *Pontifical Chair*, sent his *Nuntio* to summon him to do him Homage, pretending that *England* was a Fief of the *Holy See*. He demanded likewise the Arrears of *Peter-Pence*, which had not been paid for several Years. Some will have it that the Pope's Demand as to the first Article was not without Grounds, and that it was the Condition, on which *The Pope demands Homage of the King.* Hoved. Eadm. Brady.

1073. which *William* had obtain'd the Pope's Approbation for his Conqueſt of *England*. Others derive the Pope's Sovereignty over *England* from the voluntary Grant of *Romeſcot*, or *Peter-Pence* made to the Church of *Rome* by *Ina* and *Offa* Kings of *Weſſex* and *Mercia*. They pretend 'twas a real Tribute by which they became *Feudatories* to the *Holy See*. In fine, there are ſome, who throwing up this Pretenſion, are content with dating this Sovereignty from the Time of *Ethelwulf*'s Journey to *Rome*. But perhaps altho' *William*, whilſt he was forming his Enterpriſe, had not diſputed the Pope's Claims, yet when he found himſelf well fix'd on the Throne, he was quite of another Temper. He plainly told the *Nuntio*, that he held his Crown of none but of God and his Sword, and that he would not make it dependent on any Perſon living. Nay, he went further: For upon the *Nuntio*'s daring to threaten him, he publiſhed an Edict, wherein he forbad all his Subjects to acknowledge any Pope but whom he firſt allow'd of, and to receive any Orders from *Rome* without his Leave. This was to let *Gregory* ſee, who had then a Competitor, how great a Risk he run of being ſowred in his Turn, if he perſiſted in his Claims. As for the Arrears of *Peter-Pence*, he promiſed to pay what was due, and to be more punctual for the future. This reſolute Anſwer of the King having convinced the Pope that *William* was not a Prince to be ſway'd by ſuperſtitious Scruples, much leſs to be awed with Threats, he let his Pretenſions drop.

The King reſolutely refuſes it.

1074. The King's long Stay in *Normandy* occaſion'd in *England* a freſh Conſpiracy, which was ſo much the more dangerous as the moſt conſiderable of the *Norman* Lords were the Contrivers of it. *Ralph de Guader*, a *Bretaign*, Earl of *Suffolk*, and *Roger de Bretevil* Earl of *Hereford*, having reſolved to unite their two Families by the Marriage of *Ralph* with the Daughter of *Roger*, the King, for Reaſons unknown, put a ſtop to their Proceedings. The Earls, who durſt not compleat the Marriage whilſt the King was in *England*, took the Opportunity of his Abſence to accompliſh

Conſpiracy of the Normans *againſt the King.*
Malm. Hoved. Ann. Sax. Paris, Fl. Wigor.

compliſh their Deſign. They made a ſplendid Feaſt upon this Occaſion, to which were invited ſeveral Perſons of Quality, and among the reſt Earl *Walthoff*. As they knew the King's Temper, they had at the ſame Time formed a Deſign to depoſe him, perceiving they had no other way to avoid the Effects of his Anger This ſeeming to them a good Opportunity to draw their Gueſts into their Plot, as ſoon as they ſaw them heated with Wine, they fell a talking of the King, and dwelt upon ſuch Subjects as were moſt likely to exaſperate them againſt him. They pretended to bemoan the *Engliſh*, who having been all along a free People, were now reduced to a ſhameful Servitude. As for the *Normans*, they ſtirred them up with the Conſideration of the King's ſevere Government, who by the exceſſive Impoſitions laid on Eſtates, took from them with one Hand what he had given them with the other. In fine, perceiving they were heard with Pleaſure, they openly declared, 'twas unworthy Perſons of Honour to be governed by a Baſtard who had uſurped the two Crowns he was in Poſſeſſion of. Their Diſcourſes had ſo ſudden an Effect upon Men who in their Cups thought nothing difficult, that with one Conſent they reſolved to take up Arms in order to oppoſe the King's Return. Earl *Walthoff*, warmed with Wine as well as the reſt, came in to the Plot without reflecting on the Conſequences. But on the Morrow, the Fumes of the Liquor being diſperſed, he conſider'd more deliberately, that he had embarked in an Enterprize, which, inſtead of freeing the *Engliſh* from Oppreſſion, could not but increaſe their Miſery. He foreſaw the Difficulties which would naturally obſtruct their Deſign. But ſuppoſing it ſhould ſucceed, he plainly perceived that *England* would not be one jot the better for it, ſince ſhe would become a Prey to ſeveral petty Tyrants who would accompliſh her Deſtruction. Moreover, he reflected that in caſe the Conſpiracy ſhould fall to the Ground, which was very probable, the Vengeance would all fall on his Head as he was an *Engliſhman*,

1074.

Walthoff *engages in the Plot.*

1074. whereas the Foreigners would find some Favour with the King. He could not likewise forbear acknowledging he lay under many Obligations to the King, who not only had already pardoned him once before, but also had distinguished him by many Favours from his Countrymen.

Repents of it, These Reflections having wrought in his Mind a hearty Repentance for what he had done, he went to *Lanfranc* and acquainted him with what had passed. He excused himself on account of having drank too much, which permitted him not to reflect on what was proposed to him, and intreated him to intercede for his Pardon. The Archbishop commended him for repenting of his Fault, and advised him to repair forthwith to the King, and inform him of the whole Matter. He put him in hopes of easily obtaining a Pardon for a Crime done with so little Premeditation, in such Circumstances, and for which he was so soon sorry, and wrote

and is pardoned. himself to the King in his Behalf. *Walthoff* taking his Advice, set out immediately and went and threw himself at the King's Feet, who received him very kindly, and pardoned his Imprudence, after he had been informed of all Particulars relating to the Conspiracy.

The Plot is crushed. The King was very much alarmed at this News, and resolved to go over to *England* without delay, that he might allay the Trouble his Absence had occasioned there. But his Presence was not necessary. The Conspiracy was stifled almost in its very Birth by the Vigilance of the Bishop of *Bayeux* the Regent. The two Earls had concerted Measures so ill, that they could not even join the Forces each had drawn together. So that *Ralph de Guader* found himself constrained to retire to *Norwich* Castle, where he was immediately besieged. As he despaired of Pardon in case he fell into the King's Hands, he did not think fit to see the Issue of the Siege, but having found the Means to escape, he fled into *Denmark*. After his Departure, his Countess defended the Castle for some Time; but at length surrendred upon Terms. She had liberty given her to follow the Earl her Spouse, who had already procured

procured a powerful Aid from the King of *Denmark* to ſupport the Revolters. Accordingly, ſoon after a *Daniſh* Fleet appeared on the Coaſt of *England*. But the *Danes* not finding the *Engliſh* inclined to take up Arms, forthwith ſailed back again. 1074.

In the mean Time *William*, being returned to *England*, was informed there were ſtill ſome Remains of the Conſpiracy in the *Weſtern* Counties. To prevent the Fire from breaking out into a Flame again, he marched with all ſpeed towards thoſe Parts, and ſeverely puniſhed all whom he ſuſpected to have had a Hand in the Plot. Some he ordered to be hanged, others to have their Feet and Hands cut off, or their Eyes put out. They who came off the beſt were baniſhed the Kingdom. The Pardon he had granted Earl *Walthoff* being counted for nothing, the Earl was apprehended, carried to *Wincheſter*, publickly beheaded and buried under the Scaffold. It is ſaid that his Riches were the principal Occaſion of his Death, the King having a longing Deſire to his great Eſtate: Others add, that *Judith* his Wife, did not a little contribute to his Ruin, exaſperating the King againſt him by falſe Reports, that ſhe might be at Liberty to marry elſewhere. Be this as it will, the unhappy Fate of this brave Earl was univerſally lamented. Every one thought he was too ſeverely dealt with for ſo ſlight a Crime, though he had not obtained his Pardon. Some time after his Body was removed to *Croyland-Abbey*, where 'twas pretended it worked divers Miracles, and accordingly he paſs'd among the People for a true Martyr. The Abbot of *Croyland*, having encouraged this Belief, was outed of his Monaſtery, by the King's Order, and *Ingulphus*, a Monk of *Montevraud*, was put in his Room. This is the ſame *Ingulphus* who, notwithſtanding his Obligations to *William*, has not fail'd to atteſt, in his Hiſtory of *Croyland*, the Miracles wrought at *Walthoff*'s Tomb.

Some of the Conſpirators puniſh'd.

Hoved. Ingulph. Pol. Virg.

Walthoff *beheaded.* Ingulph.

Paſſes for a Martyr.

1074. *The* English *are hardly dealt with.*

Tho' the *English* were not concerned in the late Conspiracy, but on the contrary had refused to join the Male-contents, yet were they for all that no less punished. The King took it for granted they had privately fomented the Rebellion, and consequently deprived some of their Estates, and others of their Liberty. From this Time *William of Malmsbury* dates the Servitude of the *English*. As much a *Norman* as he was, he plainly enough shows, from thenceforward the King had no manner of Regard for them. Hence it may be conjectured, that this Prince's Severity towards the *English* was very great and universal, since this Historian reckons as a Trifle, all that the King had done before with regard to the Spiritual and Temporal Lords.

1075. William *goes to* Normandy. Hoved. Hunt.

The Precautions *William* had taken to root out of the Minds of the People all Thoughts of revolting, having made him easy upon that Score, he went beyond Sea, to take Vengeance of *Ralph de Guader*, who was retired to his City of *Dol* in *Bretaign*. He was not satisfied with seizing all his Estates in *England*, but was resolved to deprive him also of his Hereditary Possessions. With this view, he went and besieged *Dol*, which he could not however become Master of, the Defence of the Besieged having given the King of *France* time to come to their Assistance. *William* missing his Aim, returned to *England*, where during the rest of that and the following Year, nothing remarkable happen'd, except a Council held at *London*, wherein was settled the Precedency of the Bishops.

B. sieges Dol.

1076.

1077. Robert *the King's Son wars against his Father.*

The King enjoy'd then a Tranquillity which bid fair to be of a long Continuance, when an unexpected War put an End to it. *Robert* his eldest Son, encouraged by the King of *France*, pretended the King his Father ought to deliver up *Normandy* to him, in Pursuance of a positive Promise, which he said had been made him to that Purpose. Upon this Foundation he attempted to render

render himſelf abſolute Maſter of the Dutchy, and even treated very ill ſuch as refus'd to own him for their Sovereign. *William*, ſurpriz'd at his Audaciouſneſs, immediately drew an Army together wholly made up of *Engliſh*, for the Reaſon mention'd heretofore, and paſs'd over into *Normandy* to put a Stop to his Son's Proceedings. *Robert* deſiſted not from his Deſign upon his Arrival; but vigorouſly oppoſed his Father, who ſaw himſelf neceſſitated to carry on the War in Form, finding in his own Son an Enemy not to be ſlighted. He happen'd one Day to fall into an Ambuſh, where he was forc'd to expoſe his Perſon as much as the meaneſt Officer. He diſtinguiſh'd himſelf ſo by his Valour, that *Robert*, who knew him not, looking upon him as the moſt formidable among his Enemies, aſſaulted him, wounded him in the Arm, and diſmounted him with his Lance. *William* was in great Danger of loſing his Life, if by good Fortune *Robert* had not known him by ſome Mark on his Arms. Then the young Prince, ſuddenly alighting, rais'd him up, and ſet him on his own Horſe, that he might eſcape the Danger he was in. In the mean Time, the *Engliſh* Troops being roughly handled by the *Normans*, *William* was oblig'd to retreat in Diſorder. *Robert*'s being ſo very near killing his Father, made ſuch an Impreſſion upon his Mind, that to ſhow the Sincerity of his Sorrow for it, he ſubmitted himſelf entirely to his Mercy. But this generous Act could not regain him the King's Favour, who never after had any Affection for him. 'Tis even ſaid, that in the firſt Emotions of his Paſſion, he denounc'd his Curſe againſt him, which all the Submiſſions of the young Prince could not prevail with him to retract. However he gave him a kind Reception enough; but carried him into *England* with him, on Pretence to ſend him at the Head of an Army againſt *Scotland*. Accordingly, the next Year *Robert* was commiſſion'd to bring the *Scots* to reaſon, who had renew'd the War.

1077. Malm. Hoved. Fl. Wig.

Wounds him without knowing him. Hoved.

Submits. Paris.

Pol. Virg. Dunelm.

1078. *Sent to* Scotland.

He

1078. *Founds* New-Caſtle. He did nothing remarkable in this Expedition, except the Founding the Town of *Newcaſtle* upon *Time*, in the ſame Place where the Abby of *Monkceſter* ſtood, famous for the auſtere Lives of the Monks. This War ended in a Treaty between the two Nations.

The Welſh *do Homage to the King.* Before the Army was disbanded, *William* being deſirous to make himſelf ſome amends for the Charges he had been at in raiſing it, turn'd his Arms againſt *Wales*, in order to chaſtiſe the *Welſh* for ſome Incurſions into his Dominions. The *Welſh* Princes finding they were in no Condition to withſtand him, voluntarily ſubmitted, and oblig'd themſelves to pay an annual Tribute to the Crown of *England*.

The Tower of London *built.* About this Time *William* built the famous Tower of *London*, the better to ſecure the City in Obedience, whoſe Fidelity he had all along ſuſpected. Some pretend, this Citadel was founded by *Julius Cæſar*. But 'twould be difficult to prove that *Cæſar* was ever at *London*, and more ſo, that he undertook this Work, of which he makes no mention in his *Commentaries*.

The King's Conduct during the Peace. The Peace with *Scotland*, and Submiſſion of the *Welſh*, introduc'd a State of Tranquillity, which laſted ſome Years. The King took the Opportunity of this Calm to put in order the Affairs of the Kingdom. Ever ſince his Acceſſion to the Crown, *England* had been in extreme Confuſion, by reaſon of divers Alterations as well in the Government, as in the Laws and Methods of adminiſtring Juſtice. But this Confuſion was ſtill encreas'd with regard to the Debts of private Perſons. The Creditors imagin'd that they who had been put in Poſſeſſion of the Eſtates were to pay the Debts of thoſe that were turn'd out, and accordingly to them did the Debtors refer the Creditors for their Money. But the new Poſſeſſors refus'd to meddle with Matters that were liable to ſo many Frauds, and maintain'd that the King had granted them the Lands

Malm.

free

free from all Demands. Beſides, the Proceedings at Law among the *Normans* being different from thoſe among the *Engliſh*, they were at a Loſs how to go to work, the King not having as yet determined any thing upon that Head. 1078.

If he had made any Regulations, 'twas only with a view to his own Advantage, and in ſuch Caſes wherein his Intereſt might be concern'd. As for private Perſons, it does not appear that hitherto he had given himſelf much trouble about them. 'Tis true indeed, they who have made it their Buſineſs to cry up all his Actions, remark the ſtrict Juſtice that was exerciſed in his Reign, as an Argument of his Affection for his Subjects. But this Proof is not ſo ſtrong as they imagine, ſince this Strictneſs turn'd no leſs to the King's than to the People's Advantage, ſeeing the ſuffering Crimes to go unpuniſhed tends greatly to the Prejudice of the Supreme Authority. Beſides, Offences for the moſt Part being puniſhable then by pecuniary Fines, all the Profit accrued to the King, who had deprived the Earls, Barons, and Biſhops of the Share they enjoy'd under the *Saxon* Kings.

However this be, it can't be denied but *William*'s reigning Paſſion was a greedy Deſire to heap up Riches. He was never weary with inventing the Means to gratify his covetous Temper. We have already ſeen how he impoveriſh'd the *Engliſh*. But in this he acted as much or more for the Advantage of the *Normans* and other Foreigners, than for his own. He therefore judg'd it reaſonable that the Foreigners who were Proprietors of Eſtates in *England*, ſhould be liable to the ſame Impoſitions as the *Engliſh*. But that he might proceed in due Proportion, he had a mind to know the Value of every private Perſon's Eſtate. To this End he ordered an exact Survey to be taken of the Lands, Goods and Chattels of all his Subjects. This Survey contained the Number of Acres in each Man's Eſtate, what he was wont to pay in Hoved.

the

1078. the *Saxon* Reigns, and how much he had been taxed of late Years since the *Revolution*. Moreover, what Stock each had of Horses, Cattle, Sheep, *&c.* How much ready Money in his House, what he ow'd, and what was owing to him. All this was set down in great Order in a Book call'd *Doom's-day Book*, that is, *The Book of the Day of Judgment*, apparently to denote that the Means of the *English* were sifted and examined into in that Book, as the Actions of Mankind will be at that Great Day. This general Register, which some term the *Great Terror of England*, was put in the *Exchequer* or King's Treasury, to be consulted when Occasion; that is to say, as an Historian expresses it, when they had a mind to know of how much more Wooll they might still Fleece the *English* Flocks. The strict Orders the King gave to take this Survey with all possible Exactness, were punctually executed, the Commissioners as well as private Persons, having good reason to dread an exemplary Punishment, in case they used any Fraud, or were guilty of the least Connivance on this Occasion *.

Doom's-day *Book.*

Pol. Virg.

We

* This Survey was begun in the 14th and finished in the 20th of his Reign, the King having sent as Commissioners some of the greatest Earls and Bishops, who by the Verdict or Presentment of Juries, or certain Persons sworn in every County and Hundred, noted down the Particulars above-mentioned, according to the Value in the Time of King *Edward*, expres'd in *Doom's-day* Book by T. R. E. that this, *Tempore Regis Edwardi*. As this Survey was chiefly intended to give the King a true Account of his own Lands or *Demesnes*, and also what were held by the *Tenants in Chief* or of the Crown, in every County the King's Name is first set down, and then all the great Men in order that held in Chief. All *England*, except *Westmoreland*, *Cumberland*, and *Northumberland*, was described, with Part of *Wales*, and the Description or Survey written in two Books, called the Great and Little *Doom's day* Book, now in the *Exchequer*. The little Book contains only *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and *Essex*. This being the highest Record in the Kingdom, it was then (and is to this Day) a decisive Evidence in any Controversy in which there may be Occasion to make use of it.

1078. *The King's Revenues.*

We may eaſily gueſs this Survey was not taken purely to ſatisfy the King's Curioſity. The Taxes that were afterwards laid upon almoſt all the Effects of private Perſons, was a clear Evidence that his Intent was to leave the *Engliſh* no more than was abſolutely neceſſary for their Subſiſtence. This Monarch, looking upon *England* as a conquered Country, imagined he was the great Proprietor of all the Lands in the Kingdom, and that the Vanquiſhed were to deem what he was pleaſed to leave them as a ſignal Favour. According to this Rule, 'tis eaſy to ſee that his Revenues were to be in Proportion to the Eſtates of the *Engliſh*, and to his own Avariciouſneſs. Not to enter into a particular Account of the ſeveral Branches of his Revenue, 'twill be ſufficient to obſerve, that they amounted annually to four Hundred Thouſand Pounds *Sterling*, which Sum, according to a moderate Computation, is equal now to five Millions. Beſides theſe ſettled Revenues, he had a great many Perquiſites, as Mulcts and Fines, which were very frequent in thoſe Days. But what is further remarkable in this Matter, is, that none of this Money was employ'd in paying the Army that was kept on Foot. In the Diſtribution of the Lands taken from the *Engliſh*, the King had taken Care to charge them with the Maintenance of his Troops. The new Proprietors were far from refuſing to accept of their Eſtates upon that Condition, ſince they were indebted ſolely to his Liberality for them, they not having any Right to them. By this means there ſubſiſted without any manner of Charge to him threeſcore Thouſand Men, ready to march upon the firſt Notice. 'Tis not at all ſtrange, that he paſſed for the richeſt Prince in his Time, ſince his Incomes vaſtly exceeded his Out-goings, he not making uſe but of a ſmall Part of the Yearly Profits of the whole Kingdom.

1079. *The King extremely fond of Hunting.*

After *William* had thus settled his Revenues, he sought the Means to gratify another Passion, which bare almost as great Sway over him as the former. I mean his Fondness for Hunting, which caused him to commit many unjust Acts. By which I don't understand those severe Laws he made on that Account, though they were exceeding rigorous. This does not properly distinguish him from many other Princes, who look upon the Infractions of the *Game-Laws* as the most Capital of Crimes, and more readily pardon the killing of a Man than of a Stag. What I speak of was the prodigious Desolation *William* ordered to be made in *Hampshire*, by dispeopling the Country for above thirty Miles in Compass, demolishing the Churches and Houses to make a Forest for the Habitation of wild Beasts *. If we may believe certain Historians, he made not the Owners of the Lands or Houses the least amends. This Tract of Land, called before *Yiene*, was afterwards term'd the *New-Forest*. Some affirm, that besides the Diversion of Hunting, *William* had another Inducement to depopulate these Parts. They pretend his Aim was to give a free Access to the Troops, which, in case of Necessity, he might send for from *Normandy*. But this Motive, which seems to be very trifling, was doubtless invented by those, who, having entertained a great Idea of this Prince, were persuaded that he was guided in all his Actions by Prudence and Politicks; as if Princes were not as subject to their Passions as other Men. Others having remarked, that two of his Sons and one of his Grandsons lost their Lives in this very Forest by extraordinary Accidents, have concluded from thence, that Heaven took Vengeance for the Injuries done to the Proprietors of the Lands.

Makes the New-Forest.

Paris.

Ordic. Vit.

The

* There were 36 Parish Churches demolished. In this Forest are now 9 *Walks*, and to every one a *Keeper*; Two *Rangers*, a *Bow-Bearer*, and a *Lord-Warden*. On the North-side of *Malwood* Castle is the Oak that buds on *Christmas*-day, and withers again before Night. *Camden Add.* to *Hamp.*

The King's great Fondneſs for *Normandy* was another of his governing Paſſions. Every Thing practis'd there, was, in his Opinion, the Model of Perfection. Perſuaded of this, he endeavour'd to aboliſh the *Saxon* Laws, and eſtabliſh the *Norman* in their Room. Perhaps he would have puſhed this Matter further, had it not been repreſented to him, that the Laws of *England*, bearing the Name of his Benefactor, all the World would look with Horror upon his Ingratitude. However, he made ſeveral Innovations in the *Engliſh* Laws, and the Methods of adminiſtring Juſtice. For Inſtance, he would not ſuffer the Biſhops to preſide at the *Shire-gemots* or County-Courts, but aſſign'd them a Court of their own. His Pretence for ſo doing was that *Eccleſiaſtical* Matters might not be intermix'd with the *Civil*. But the true Motive was becauſe he had a Mind to cut off the Biſhops from their Share of the Fines and Mulcts. He erected alſo ſeveral Courts before unknown to the *Engliſh*, and which were very incommodious to them. They were not only ignorant of the Rules and Practices of theſe Courts; but as they always attended the Prince, the *Suitors* were oblig'd to follow him where-ever he went in order to carry on their *Actions*. Amongſt theſe Courts there was one however which became very advantageous to the People; ſince it was deſign'd to moderate the Rigour of the Laws by Equity, I mean the *Court of Exchequer*, which is ſtill in being.

1079. *His Affection for* Normandy. Baker.

1080. *He erects Courts.* Pol. Virg.

William was not ſatisfied with obliging the *Engliſh* to try their Cauſes in theſe Courts, but forc'd them further to make uſe of the *Norman* Language, and did all he could to aboliſh the *Engliſh* Tongue. With this view it was he erected in all the Cities and Boroughs Schools where *Norman* was taught, and obliged Parents under heavy Penalties to ſend their Children thither. I have elſewhere obſerv'd the Nature of the *Norman* Language, which was very difficult, and hardly to be underſtood by the *French* themſelves, by reaſon of the great Mixture of *Daniſh* with the *French*. However, the King was ſo bent to introduce

He endeavours to aboliſh the Engliſh *Tongue.* Ingulph.

1080. his native Tongue, that he made it his chief Buſineſs. They who had any Concerns at Court and ſpoke not *Norman*, were look'd upon with an evil Eye, as Perſons that had no Complaiſance for the King. The moſt effectual Means he made uſe of to bring the *Engliſh* under a Neceſſity of learning *Norman*, was the publiſhing his Laws in that Tongue, the Ignorance of which was no ſufficient Excuſe for them who broke them. Some have accus'd him of acting in this particular from a worſe Motive. They pretend that his Aim was to enſnare the *Engliſh* by cauſing them to commit Treſpaſſes, which were generally puniſhed by Mulcts and Confiſcations for his Benefit. But ſuppoſing this were not ſo, as it muſt be confeſs'd it can't be prov'd, his covetous Temper, and the Method he practis'd to heap up Riches, are but too juſt Grounds for ſuch an Accuſation.

Remark on the Engliſh *Tongue.*

To return to the *Norman* Language. There are thoſe who affirm that in ſpite of all his Pains *William* could not introduce it into *England*. On the contrary, they maintain, the *Normans* by degrees learnt to ſpeak *Engliſh*, their ſmall Number being carried away by the Bulk of the Nation. Others, who are of a contrary Opinion, endeavour to make appear that the *Norman* Tongue was eſtabliſh'd upon the Ruins of the *Engliſh*. But 'tis a difficult Matter for either to make good their Aſſertions. Thus much is certain, that the Language ſpoken in *England* after the *Conqueſt*, was not exactly the ſame with what was us'd in the Time of the *Saxon* Kings. However, it can't be ſaid that the *Normans* learnt *Engliſh*, or the *Engliſh Norman*, but rather out of theſe two Languages was form'd a Third, which was neither one nor the other, but partook of both. Nevertheleſs, all publick Acts were in *Norman* till *Edward the Third*'s Time.

1081. *The King's Partiality for the* Normans. Ingulph.

William's Partiality for the *Normans* was ſo great, that he could not forbear ſhowing it upon all Occaſions. *Ingulphus*, Abbot of *Croyland*, gives us an Inſtance which deſerves

deſerves Notice. He ſays, he appear'd one Day before the Council, where the King was preſent, to demand certain Lands belonging to his Monaſtery, then in Poſſeſſion of *Talboys* a *Norman*, who had ſettled there ſome Monks of his own Nation. The King, continues the Hiſtorian, examining the original Charter or Grant of the *Abby*-Lands, judg'd at firſt that the Demand was right and juſt. But *Talboys* having alledg'd in his Defence, that the Monks he had ſettled on theſe Lands were *Normans*, and hearty Friends to the King, whereas thoſe of *Croyland* were *Engliſh*; this ſingle Argument was of force enough to induce the King to give Sentence in favour of the *Normans*. In doing This, He was biaſs'd by his natural Inclination and Intereſt. The former made him favour his own Nation, and the latter carried him to put it out of the Power of the *Engliſh* as far as poſſible to revolt. 1081.

What has hitherto been ſaid of the Oppreſſions of the *Engliſh*, is ſufficient to ſhow, they did not complain without Cauſe. Perhaps their impatient Behaviour was the Occaſion of them. But be this as it will, 'tis certain they were reduc'd extremely low, whilſt they beheld the *Normans* enrich'd by their Spoils. A ſingle Inſtance will make appear, how much they were pillag'd by thoſe who were in greateſt Credit with the King. *Odo* Biſhop of *Bayeux*, half-brother to *William*, after an Abode of 15 or 16 Years in *England*, thought himſelf rich enough to purchaſe the *Papacy*. With this view he had bought a ſtately Palace at *Rome*, where he deſign'd to go and reſide, and to convey thither all his Treaſures, that he might be ready upon the Pope's Death to put his Deſign in Execution. In the mean time, as he was willing to conceal his Intentions, he took the Opportunity to begin his Journey during the King his Brother's Abſence in *Normandy*, and accordingly went to the *Iſle of Wight*, where his Ships lay ready for him. Contrary Winds having prevented him from embarking ſo ſoon as he expected, he was forc'd to remain ſome Time in the Iſle. His Stay there broke all 1082.

his

1082. his Measures, *William* having had Intelligence of his Design, came over with all Speed, and surpris'd him just as he was going to sail. He ordered him to be seized immediately. But finding Fear and Respect hindred his Officers from doing their Duty, he laid Hands on him himself. In vain did the Prelate plead the Privileges of his *Order*. The King told him, he seized him not as a *Bishop*, but as *Earl* of *Kent*, and commanded him to be put into Prison. This Seizure was quickly follow'd with a Confiscation of all his Effects to the King's Use, numberless Extortions and Rapines having been proved upon him.

1084. Nothing remarkable happening in the rest of this, and the next Year, I shall proceed to the Occurrences of the Year 1084, in which we meet with the Death of *Matilda William*'s Queen, and the King's Preparations against an Invasion he was threatned with. The *English* who had taken refuge in *Denmark*, had perswaded *Canute* King of that Country that their Countrymen waited only for an Opportunity to throw off the *Norman* Yoke. This seeming to him a favourable Juncture, he formed a Project to conquer *England*, to which Kingdom he had some Pretensions, which appeared to him plausible enough, being backed with Force. With this view he fitted out a Fleet, and levied some Troops, whose Numbers plainly showed he had some great Design in Hand. Those Preparations made *William* somewhat uneasy; the Advices from *Denmark* putting it past doubt that this Armament was designed against him. As he durst not confide in the *English*, he brought into the Kingdom a numerous Army of Foreigners, and laid upon his Subjects a Tax of six Shillings upon every *Hide* of Land, which was three times as much as *Dane-gelt* used to be. Whether *Canute* was diverted from his Design by the Preparations that were making in *England*, or by some other unexpected Affairs, he dropt it without making any Attempt. *William* for his Part, disbanded his Army; but the Money that was levied for their Pay was refunded. On the contrary, he imposed a new

Death of the Queen Malm. Hoved.

King of Denmark about to invade England.

Hoved.

a new Tax, on account of the *Order of Knighthood* he had a mind to confer on *Henry* his youngeſt Son. The *Norman* Cuſtom of making the Prince Preſents, when he knighted any of his Sons, tended too much to the King's Benefit not to be introduc'd into *England*, where it was never practis'd before. 1084.

'Twas no difficult Matter for *William* to lay what Burthen he pleaſed on his Subjects, ſince he had nothing more to do than to ſay the Word in order to be obeyed. The *Normans* took Care how they oppoſed his Will, for fear of running the Risk of loſing their Eſtates the ſame way they came by them, I mean, by a bare Act of his good Pleaſure; and the *Engliſh* were in no Condition to throw off the Yoke he had lain on their Necks. There was ſcarce a Lord of that Nation, but what was impriſoned or baniſhed. If there were any who had ſtill preſerved their Liberty, they were watched ſo narrowly, that the leaſt Oppoſition, or the leaſt Grounds of Suſpicion, was enough to ruin them. *Edgar Atheling*, who ſeemed the moſt formidable, depended entirely upon his Penſion from the King. Beſides, ſince his voluntary Submiſſion to the *Conqueror*, he had forfeited the Hearts and Affections of the *Engliſh*, who look'd upon him now with the utmoſt Contempt. An Hiſtorian even aſſures us, that he was in ſome Meaſure ſtupid. For Proof of which he alledges, that for a Horſe the King made him a Preſent of, he remitted his Penſion which was given him for his Subſiſtance. The ill State of his Affairs, and perhaps the fear of falling a Sacrifice to the King's Suſpicions, made him reſolve on going into the *Eaſt* to bear Arms againſt the *Infidels*. The King having readily given him Leave. he ſet out attended with two hundred Knights, who having loſt their Eſtates in *England*, were willing to make their Fortune elſewhere. After he had ſpent two Years in the *Eaſtern* Parts, where 'tis pretended he ſignaliz'd himſelf by many brave Actions, he returned to *England*, having refuſed the Eſtates and Honours offered him by the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*.

The State of England. Malm.

1085. Edgar *goes in to the Earl.*

Edgar's

1086. William *wars against* France. Malm.

Edgar's Departure having made *William* easy upon his Score, every one imagined he would for the future turn his Thoughts to Peace, which he had been a Stranger to almost from his very Birth. Besides, he was grown so corpulent and unwieldy, that a quiet Life seem'd absolutely necessary for him. But he was far from thinking any such Thing. All on a sudden he fell to making extraordinary Preparations, which plainly shewed he had some great Design in View. And indeed, quickly after, he sets out for *Normandy*, in order to make fierce War with *France*. But *Philip* prevented the Evil he was threatned with, by offering Proposals, which were followed by a Truce. *William*, whose Corpulency was extremely troublesome to him, having taken this Opportunity to go thro' a Course of Physick, a Jest of King *Philip*'s occasioned the breaking of the Truce. This Prince having ask'd one that was come from *Roan*, *Whether the King of* England *was delivered yet of his great Belly?* *William*, being inform'd of the Matter sent him Word, that as soon as he was *up* again, he would come and offer in the Church of *Notre Dame* at *Paris*, ten thousand Lances by way of Wax-lights*. His Words were soon follow'd by Deeds; for marching in the very hottest Time of the Summer, he ravaged the *Vezin* in a terrible Manner, and then laid Siege to *Mantes*. He was incensed to that Degree, that after he had taken the City, he reduced it to Ashes, without sparing so much as the Churches, in one of which two *Hermits* were burnt. The Warmth of the Season, and the great Fire, which he stood very near to see his Orders put in Execution, threw him into a Fever, which interrupted his Progress. This was attended with another Accident, no less fatal to him. Whilst he was on the Road in his Return to *Roan*, having a Mind to leap a Ditch on Horse-back, he so bruised the Rim of his Belly against the Pummel of the Saddle, that the Violence of the Blow very

A Truce.

Broken by a Jest.

1087. William *burns* Mantes.

Falls ill. Hurts himself against his Saddle. Ord. Vital.

* Alluding to the Custom of lying-in Women in those Days, who were wont to offer lighted Candles at their *Churching*.

very much increas'd his Fever. After this Accident, not being able to mount his Horſe, he was carried in a Litter to *Roan*, where he grew worſe and worſe. As ſoon as he found he was near his End, he began ſeriouſly to look back on all the paſt Actions of his Life, and to view them in a different Light from what he had hitherto done. He order'd large Sums to be given to the Poor and to the *Churches*, particularly towards the rebuilding thoſe he had burnt at *Mantes*. He ſet at Liberty all the Priſoners, among whom were *Morchard* and *Ulnoth*. This laſt, who was Brother to King *Harold*, had been detain'd in Priſon in *Normandy* from his Childhood, having been given in Hoſtage by Earl *Goodwin* to *Edward the Confeſſor*. It was a very difficult Matter to obtain the like Favour for the Biſhop of *Bayeux* the King's Brother, becauſe he had ſworn never to releaſe him. However he was prevail'd upon by the Importunities of the Biſhop's Friends. His Diſtemper daily increaſing, put him out of all Hopes of Recovery, and therefore ordering his principal Officers to ſtand round his Bed, in ſpite of his Weakneſs, he made them a long Diſcourſe, wherein he dwelt much on the great Reputation he had gain'd by his warlike Actions. Nevertheleſs he could not forbear owning that he had unjuſtly uſurp'd the Crown of *England*, and was guilty of all the Blood ſpilt upon that Occaſion. He added, that as he durſt not bequeath a Crown, which of Right belonged not to him, he left it to God's Diſpoſal: but if he could have his Wiſh, *William* his ſecond Son, ſhould wear it after him. In his *Will*, which he made juſt before he died, he left the Dutchy of *Normandy* to his eldeſt Son *Robert*, not ſo much out of Affection, as becauſe he foreſaw great Obſtacles in the Execution of his *Will* ſhould he do otherwiſe. *Henry* his third Son had for his Share an Annuity of five Thouſand Marks *, with all his Mother's Effects, This was all his Portion. 'Tis ſaid, the young Prince complaining at his being ſo ill provided for, the King told him by a prophetick Spirit, that he ſhould one Day be King of *England*, and exceed his Bro-

1087.

Gives Alms.

Sets the Priſoners at Liberty.

Owns his uſurping the Crown of England

Pol. Virg. Malm.

* *Vitalis* ſays, he left him only 5000 Marks in Money.

1087. ther in Glory and Riches. But one can hardly believe, that God ſhould communicate himſelf to a Prince ſuch as he was.

Tho' the dying King had left his Crown to God's Diſpoſal, he omitted however nothing that lay in his Power to ſecure it to his ſecond Son. He wrote upon that Head to *Lanfranc* a very preſſing Letter, which he order'd his Son *William*, even before his Death, to carry himſelf. No doubt, he thought that Prince would meet with too ſtrong an Oppoſition in *England*, in caſe neceſſary Meaſures were not taken beforehand, to gain the Conſent of the *Normans* and *Engliſh*. Having thus ſettled his Temporal Affairs, he caus'd himſelf to be removed to the Village of *Hermentrude*, (on the other Side the *Sieine* over againſt *Roan*) that he might be more at Liberty to think of his Spiritual Concerns. Here it was this Prince ended his Days on the 9th of *September*, in the Sixty-firſt Year of his Age, after he had reigned 42 Years in *Normandy*, and 21 in *England*. If we may believe ſome of his Hiſtorians, he expreſs'd on his Death-bed a hearty Sorrow for all the Injuries he had done the *Engliſh*. His Body was removed to *Caen* without any Ceremony, and depoſited in the *Abby-Church* which he himſelf had founded, and where he had choſen to lye. *Robert* his eldeſt Son being then in *Germany*, and *William* in *England*, his youngeſt Son *Henry* took Care of his Funeral. The Corps was but poorly attended for ſo great a Prince, his principal Officers having abandoned him before he expired, ſome to make their Court to *Robert*, others to *William*. An extraordinary Adventure rendered the Funeral of this Monarch very remarkable. Juſt as they were going to lay him in his Grave, [*Anſelm Fitz-Arthur*] a *Norman* Gentleman, ſtands up and forbids the Burial in that Place, claiming the Ground as his Inheritance, and alledging that the deceaſed had built the Church upon it, without paying him for it. Upon which they were forced to ſtop, according to the Laws of the Coun-

He dies O. d. Vital.

Brompton

try

try, in order to examine into the Validity of his Pretenſions; which proving well grounded, *Henry* was obliged to make him Satisfaction, and then the Corps was interr'd. 1087.

Thus lived and died *William* I. ſirnamed the *Baſtard* and *Conqueror*, if this laſt Title may be juſtly attributed to him, which all Hiſtorians do not agree to. They that maintain he is juſtly ſtiled ſo, found their Opinion upon his having no manner of Right to the Crown of *England*, as well as upon the Severity of his Government which was all along Arbitrary. Others affirm, that his Election entirely cancelled his Right of Conqueſt. The uncertainty of this Matter gives Occaſion to compare him in this reſpect to the Emperor *Auguſtus*, of whom 'tis ſaid, he came to the Empire neither by *Conqueſt* nor *Uſurpation*, nor *Inheritance*, nor *Election*; but by a ſtrange mixture of all theſe together. But however this be, or in what manner ſoever *William* may be accuſed or juſtified upon this Score, he kept Poſſeſſion of the Throne he got into, by ſuch Politick Methods, as are practiſed by the moſt able Princes, but which are ſeldom conſonant to Juſtice and Equity. *Remarks on the ſirname of* Conqueror.

Hiſtorians have drawn this Prince's Character variouſly, according to the different Lights they had a mind to place him in. Some viewing him only as a Conqueror of a great Kingdom, have extoll'd him to the Skies for his Valour and Prudence, and ſlightly paſs'd over the reſt of his Actions. Others conſidering the ſame Conqueſt as no better than a downright Uſurpation, and reflecting chiefly on the Means he made uſe of to preſerve it, have not ſcrupled to repreſent him as a real Tyrant. 'Tis certain they may be all in the Right, ſince this Monarch had a great Mixture of good and bad Qualities. He was reckoned one of the wiſeſt Princes of his Time. Ever vigilant and active, he ſhowed as great Reſolution in executing, as Boldneſs in forming his Deſigns. He ſaw Danger at a Diſtance, and generally endeavoured to prevent *Character of* William *the* Conqueror. Malm.

1087. it. But when that could not be done, no Man faced it with greater Intrepidity. On the other Hand, his covetous Temper, and Partiality for his Countrymen, put him upon doing many Things, which can hardly be justified.

In his younger Years, he was handsome and very well proportion'd. He had rather a stern and majestick, than a mild and taking Countenance; but however, he could sometimes put on such Sweetness and Gentleness in his Looks, as were hardly to be resisted. We may guess at his great Strength and Vigour from Historians assuring us, none but himself could bend his Bow. The same Historians are very much divided concerning his Chastity. Some tell us, he was very much addicted to Women in his Youth: Others say, his little Inclination that way, gave Occasion of calling his Manhood in Question. Some affirm, that after he was married, he never gave his Queen any Cause to be Jealous. Others assure us, he kept for his Mistress a Clergyman's Daughter, whom *Matilda* caused to be Ham-stringed. Be this as it will, after he was seated on the Throne of *England*, 'tis observed Hunting was his sole Diversion. His Family Affairs were perfectly well regulated; but his Expences were not in Proportion to his Greatness and Riches. Nevertheless upon solemn Occasions, he loved Magnificence, and took a Pleasure in appearing in all his Grandeur. Seldom did he fail of being crowned a-new every Year, at the three great Feasts of *Christmas*, *Easter*, and *Whitsontide*, which he generally spent at *Gloucester*, *Winchester*, and *Westminster*. During these Festivals he kept a splendid Court, was much more easy of Access and liberal of his Favours. The Great Men of the Kingdom were usually about him whilst these Solemnities lasted; but one can hardly be perswaded 'twas in order to hold a *Wittena-Gemot* or Parliament, as some do affirm. And indeed, there is no likelihood, that after he had deprived the *English* of their Estates, he should

ſhould leave them in poſſeſſion of the greateſt of their Privileges. 'Tis ſtill leſs likely that he would transfer this Right over to Foreigners, ſince he was at Liberty to grant them the *Engliſh* Eſtates on what Terms he pleas'd. Now 'tis certain that his Temper was ſuch, that he would never voluntarily render himſelf dependant on his own Subjects. However this be, if the *Saxon Wittena-Gemot* ſubſiſted in his Reign, one may at leaſt affirm, his Authority was very much curtail'd, and its Nature very different from what it had been. 1087.

There are Hiſtorians who mightily cry up this Prince's Clemency, on account of his being very often ſatisfied with puniſhing the *Engliſh* Rebels, by the Confiſcation of their Eſtates. It can't be denied but what they ſay is true, with regard to Perſons of the firſt Rank. Indeed, except Earl *Walthoff*, who was publickly beheaded, and *Egelwin* Biſhop of *Durham*, who was ſtarv'd in Priſon, we don't find any of the principal *Engliſh* Lords put to Death in this Reign. But we can't with Juſtice extol his Clemency with reſpect to Perſons of a lower Rank. 'Tis certain, he put great Numbers of them to Death, caus'd their Eyes to be put out, or the Hands and Feet to be cut off of many others, and condemn'd abundance to perpetual Impriſonment for very ſmall Crimes. All the Hiſtorians unanimouſly upbraid him with the Death of Earl *Walthoff*, as an Action the moſt heinous; ſince he beheaded him for a Crime he had already pardon'd. But this Act of Severity was in ſome meaſure made amends for by his Moderation towards Prince *Edgar*, who had furniſh'd him with Pretences enough to ſacrifice him to his Jealouſy. Perhaps, the little Merit of this Prince was the only Motive of his Clemency; ſince *William* never look'd upon him as a very formidable Rival. But after all, I don't think we ought to rob him of the Honour due to him upon this Score, ſeeing we know not the Grounds of his Clemency towards him. How little formidable ſoever *Edgar* might be with regard to his Perſonal Qualities, yet it can't be denied but that he might be ſo on account of his Birth. He was the only ſurviving

Prince

1087. Prince of the Royal Family of the *Saxons*, and as he had been made a Handle to several Insurrections, the King could not be entirely secure on his Account.

His Issue. *William* had by *Matilda* Daughter to the Earl of *Flanders*, four Sons and five Daughters. *Robert* was Duke of *Normandy*. *Richard* was kill'd by a Stag in the *New-Forest*, or, as others say, he caught as he was Hunting a Distemper of which he died in his Father's Life-time. *William* mounted the Throne of *England*, and was succeeded by *Henry* his Brother. *Cicely* his eldest Daughter was Abbess of the Nunnery of *Caen*. *Constance* was married to *Alain Fergeant* Duke of *Bretagne*. *Adela* was Wife to *Stephen* Earl of *Blois*, by whom she had a Son of the same Name, whom we shall see King of *England*. *Margaret*, who was promis'd to *Harold*, died young. *Alphonso* King of *Galicia* married the Fifth, whose Name was *Eleanor*. She is said to have remain'd a Virgin after Marriage, and being entirely devoted to the Service of God, to have spent her Days in the constant Exercise of Prayer.

SECT.

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SECT. II.

2. WILLIAM II. *Sirnamed* *RUFUS.*

WHILST the *Conqueror* was taken up in *Normandy* with the Thoughts of dying, *William* his Son was concerting in *England* all neceſſary Meaſures to ſecure to himſelf the Crown, in purſuance of his Father's Intentions. Diſpatch was ſo much the more neceſſary on this Occaſion, as he had reaſon to fear, that in caſe *Robert* his Brother could come in Time, he would gain the People to his Side. His Buſineſs therefore was to ſecure before-hand the *Normans* to his Intereſt, who being in Poſſeſſion of all the *Fiefs* and all the Places in the Kingdom, were properly the Perſons that were to bear the greateſt Sway in the enſuing Election. However, the *Engliſh* were by no means to be neglected, leaſt

WILLIAM II. 1087.

1087. leaſt joining with *Robert*'s Friends, they might incline the Balance to his Side. In the mean time *William* was belov'd by neither Party. The *Engliſh* found him too like the King his Father, and the *Normans*, who knew him ſtill better, dreaded his rough Temper. On the other Hand, *Robert* had the Right of Primogeniture to plead in his Favour; whereas *William* could ſupport his Pretenſions only by the bare Deſire his Father had ſhow'd, of having him for his Succeſſor. But this bare Indication of his Will, without any expreſs Nomination, was far from being ſufficient. Nay, in all likelihood it would never have had the Effect the dying King propos'd to himſelf, if before the News of his Death had reach'd *England*, care had not been taken to prepare the Minds of the People. 'Twas with this view that he had ſent over his Son with all ſpeed, that he might in Conjunction with *Lanfranc* and ſome other Lords la-
Brompton bour to bring about his Deſign. *Eudo* High Treaſurer, and *Lanfranc* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* were very ſerviceable to young *William* on this Occaſion. The firſt had ſecur'd *Dover*, *Wincheſter*, *Pevenſey*, *Haſtings*, and ſome other Places on the South-Coaſts. Moreover, he deliver'd up to him the late King's Treaſures, which amounted to ſixty Thouſand Pounds in Money, beſides Plate and Jewels of a much greater Value. *Lanfranc*, who was both eſteem'd and belov'd by the *Engliſh*, as well as by the *Normans*, made uſe of all his Credit in his Favour. His Pains were crown'd with ſo good Succeſs, that in a little Time he gain'd over to his Party, the leading Lords of both Nations. To theſe were added other Means, which ſerv'd to incline the Minds of
Daniel. the People to *William*'s Side. It was ſpread abroad among the *Engliſh*, that this Prince had made a firm Reſolution to govern in a very different Manner from the King his Father; that he would hearken to their juſt Complaints, and aboliſh the too rigorous Laws enacted ſince the *Revolution*, particularly the Laws relating to the *Game*. In fine, they had Aſſurances given them from him

him, that they ſhould be reſtored in Part to their Eſtates and antient Privileges. On the other Hand, the *Normans* were told, that the beſt way to keep what they had got, was to confirm the *Conqueror*'s Choice; that the young Prince being placed on the Throne would be led by his own Intereſt to ſtand by them, ſince his and their Rights would ſtand on the ſame Bottom, namely, the Will of the late King. *Robert* being abſent had but few Friends to ſollicite his Cauſe. The uncertainty People were in which Side to take at his Return, made ſuch as had been inclined to favour him afraid to declare their Minds openly. They foreſaw the ill Conſequences of ſuch a Proceeding, in caſe he ſhould not think fit to ſupport them. Beſides, this Party had no one to head them. *William* had taken care to keep *Ulnoth* and *Morchard* in Priſon, notwithſtanding his Father's Orders to the contrary, for fear they ſhould put themſelves at the Head of the *Engliſh*, whom he did not take for his Friends. All theſe Circumſtances managed by *Lanfranc* and other Adherents to Prince *William*, having concurred to pave his way to the Throne, he was crown'd the 27th of *September*, Eighteen Days after his Father's Death.

1087. Brompton. Hoved. William *crown'd.* Eadmer.

This Prince, ſirnamed *Rufus* from his being Red-haired, was Thirty Years of Age when he aſcended the Throne. In all appearance he was indebted for his good Fortune to *Robert*'s diſobliging the King his Father, who never forgave him for revolting. And indeed, the Younger had nothing that gave him the Preference to the Elder. The only good Quality remarkable in him was his great Courage, which however was hardly to be diſtinguiſhed from a brutiſh Fierceneſs. He was extremely ill-natured, which having never been corrected by Education, carried him very often to commit Actions unworthy a Prince. Bred up to Arms from his Youth, and at a Court where he continually

Ord. Vital. *His Character.*

1087. tinually beheld Inſtances of Severity and abſolute Power, he was a perfect Brute in his Behaviour and Manners. To theſe ill Qualities he joined a great Indifferency for Religion, and his whole Conduct ſhowed he never troubled himſelf about Honour or Honeſty. He was as greedy of Money as his Father, but with this difference, the Father heaped up Money purely for the ſake of hoarding, and very unwillingly parted with it; whereas the Son loved it not but to ſquander it away in vain Expences, wherein he was ever guided more by Caprice than Reaſon. However, in the Beginning of his Reign, as it was his Intereſt to hide his Inclinations for fear of alarming his Subjects, he put on a Mask for ſome time. 'Twas even obſerved with Pleaſure, that he affected to be guided by the Counſels of *Lanfranc*, who was
Hoved. univerſally eſteemed and beloved. 'Twas chiefly the Deference he ſhowed at firſt for this wiſe Counſellor, that made the *Engliſh* hope for a happy Change in their Fortune, and prevented them from giving Ear to the Sollicitations of thoſe who would have perſuaded them to eſpouſe the Cauſe of *Robert*.

1088. But whilſt the Confidence he placed in this Pre-
Conſpiracy againſt William. late was of Service to him with regard to the *Engliſh*, it occaſioned ſuch Troubles from another Quarter
Malm. as ſhook him in his Throne. *Odo* his Uncle, Biſhop
Hoved. of *Bayeux*, who was lately delivered out of Priſon,
Dunelm. could not bear to ſee *Lanfranc* in ſo great Favour.
Ord. Vital. He had harboured in his Breaſt a ſecret Animoſity againſt the Archbiſhop, ever ſince his adviſing the King to ſeize him, juſt as he was upon the Point of going for *Rome*. This private Hatred, joined to a Deſire of ruling again as he had done formerly, ſet him at work how to depoſe the King and place the Crown on the Head of *Robert*, who was lately returned to *Normandy*. He wanted not a Pretence

to

to countenance his Enterprize. *Robert*'s Birth-Right furniſhed him with a plauſible one enough. As ſoon as he had reſolved upon the Matter, he drew into the Plot ſome of the principal *Norman* Lords. 'Twas neceſſary for him to begin with them, ſince without their Aid the *Engliſh* were able to do nothing. This Step being taken, and ſeveral more being gain'd over to his Party, 'twas no difficult Matter to perſuade the *Engliſh* to come into their Schemes. As they were depriv'd for the moſt Part of their Eſtates, they were in hopes the Commotions, which were going to be rais'd in the Kingdom, by the Diſſentions between the two Brothers, would turn to their Advantage. In order to confirm both *Engliſh* and *Normans* in the Reſolution they had taken, *Odo* repreſented to them that there was no living happily under the Government of a capricious and brutiſh Prince, who had neither Religion nor Honeſty; *That* they had reaſon to dread the worſt, if they gave him Time to eſtabliſh himſelf on the Throne, and therefore, if they delay'd to take proper Meaſures to ſcreen them from the Evils that hung over their Heads, it would perhaps be too late, when they ſhould have a Mind to do it. He added, that Juſtice itſelf requir'd that the Crown ſhould be given to the firſt-born, to which he had a very lawful Right, and of which he had not deſerv'd to be depriv'd. Theſe Conſiderations were back'd with Aſſurances of the Uprightneſs and Generoſity of *Robert*. He ſet off his mild and gracious Diſpoſition, which put them in hopes of enjoying under his Government the Tranquillity they ſo earneſtly wiſh'd for. 1088.

Whether the Right of Primogeniture had any Weight with theſe Lords, or whether *William*'s ill Temper made them wiſh for a new Maſter, they readily clos'd in with the Prelate's Notions. Each promis'd to do his utmoſt to help forward the Deſign,

1088. provided *Robert* would exert himſelf likewiſe, and bring over Succours from *Normandy*. The *Norman* Lords who were in the Conſpiracy, beſtirr'd themſelves ſo heartily, that they quickly gain'd over almoſt all thoſe who had any Intereſt with their Countrymen. As ſoon as the Archbiſhop was ſecure of the Aſſiſtance of thoſe of his own Nation, whom he judg'd much more capable of ſerving *Robert* than the *Engliſh*, he ſent word to that Prince, that nothing was wanting but his Preſence with a Body of *Norman* Troops, to put him in Poſſeſſion of the Crown his Brother had unjuſtly uſurped. As this News could not but be very agreeable to the Duke, he was not long reſolving upon ſo advantageous a Propoſal. But as he had not Money enough to defray the Expences of ſo great an Undertaking, he took up ſome of his Brother *Henry*, and mortgag'd to him the whole Country of *Cotentin* for his Security. This being done, he ſent his Uncle word he would not fail of coming to *England* with all Expedition, and deſir'd him to get all things ready for the Execution of their Deſigns.

Robert borrows Money of his Brother Henry. Brompton

The Conſpirators take up Arms.

As ſoon as the *Norman* Lords were certified of *Robert*'s Reſolution they began to ſtir. The Biſhop of *Conſtance* with *Mowbray* his Nephew, made themſelves Maſters of *Bath* and *Barklay* Caſtle, and fortified *Briſtol* in order to make it their chief Magazin. *Roger Bigod* in *Norfolk*, *Hugh Grantmenil* in *Leiceſterſhire*, ſeiz'd upon ſeveral Places. *Roger de Montgomery*, *William* Biſhop of *Durham*, *Bernard* of *Newarck*, *Roger Lacy*, *Ralph Mortimer* ſecur'd *Worceſterſhire*. In a word, there was not a Lord among the Conſpirators but what fortified himſelf in ſome City. Had *Robert* come over at that Time, in all likelihood he would have dethron'd his Brother. But his natural Slothfulneſs, and the unneceſſary Things he had laid out his Money upon, made him loſe ſo good an Opportunity. On the

the contrary, *William*, who was of a quite different Temper, omitted nothing to ſtifle the Conſpiracy, whilſt his Brother's Indolence afforded him Time. The moſt effectual Means he made uſe of, was the gaining the *Engliſh* to his Side, in which *Lanfranc*'s Intereſt was very ſerviceable to him. This Prelate, who in the late Reign had carried it very fair with the *Engliſh*, us'd all his Credit with them, to induce them to ſtand by the King at this Juncture. By his Sollicitations and Pains, he brought back to their Duty ſuch as had already a Hand in the Conſpiracy, and perſwaded the reſt to continue firm to the King. So that in a very little Time *William* was enabled to ſend out a Fleet, whilſt with an Army of *Engliſhmen*, he march'd againſt *Odo* his Uncle, whom he juſtly look'd upon as the Ring-leader of the Rebels. The Prelate had fortified himſelf in *Kent*, where he had made himſelf Maſter of *Rocheſter* and *Pevenſey*. As ſoon as he was inform'd of the King's Approach, he ſhut himſelf up in *Pevenſey*, where he was in Hopes he ſhould be able to hold out, 'till ſuch Time as the Duke of *Normandy* ſhould come to his Aſſiſtance. But as he was more hot than courageous, and had for want of Fore-ſight even neglected to provide Things neceſſary for his Defence, the Caſtle was taken in a few Days by the furious Aſſaults of the King. *Odo* could obtain his Pardon upon no other Terms but the getting *Rocheſter* to ſurrender, where the chief of the *Norman* Lords had ſhut themſelves up, under the Command of *Euſtace* Earl of *Bulloign*. To this Purpoſe he was conducted to the Gates of *Rocheſter*, where he made as if he was willing the Governour ſhould deliver up the City. But *Euſtace* obſerving by his Looks, that he did not ſpeak from the bottom of his Heart, detained him Priſoner, and ſo furniſhed him with a plauſible Excuſe for the Breach of his Promiſe.

1088.

Lanfranc *does the King great Service.*

The King attacks Odo. Sax. Ann. Ord. Vital.

Hoved. Brompton

William,

1088. *He besieges* Rochester Hunting.

William, being out of hopes of becoming Master of *Rochester* by the Means of *Odo*, found himself obliged to lay Siege to it. He was six Weeks before the Town without making any Progress, the besieged still making so brave a Defence, that he already began to despair of Success. But at length a contagious Distemper, which daily swept off Numbers of them, constrained them to come to a Capitulation. 'Twas no easy Matter to agree upon the Terms. At length, after a great many Debates, the King granted them the Liberty to march off with their Horses, without any Hopes of ever enjoying their Estates and Places again. The Bishop of *Bayeux*, being by this Means reduced to a low Ebb, retired to the Duke of *Normandy*, who committed to him the Administration of the Affairs of the Dutchy. The Siege of *Rochester* had furnished the Duke with a good Opportunity to make a Diversion in some other Part of the Kingdom. But by an inexcusable Neglect, he lost the Advantage of so favourable a Juncture. Instead of going himself into *England* with Forces proportionable to the Greatness of his Enterprise, he contented himself with sending over a single Ship with some Soldiers, who were all taken and drowned.

Negligence of Robert. Brompton Hoved.

The King goes against the Bishop of Durham *and banishes him.*

William being Master of *Rochester*, he marched his *Army* towards *Durham*, to chastise the Bishop, who was one of the Rebels. As the Garrison of that Place was of no Strength, the City was quickly obliged to surrender, and the Bishop with all that had taken Arms against the King were banished. Thus this Conspiracy, which seem'd to have so dangerous an Aspect, was crushed by the Vigour and good Conduct of *William*, who equally made use of Prudence and Force to bring the Rebels to Reason. He not only had gained over by his Address *Montgomery*, but also several other *Norman* Lords, whose Defection gave a great Blow

to

to *Robert*'s Party. By his ſecret Emiſſaries, he had made them ſenſible, that they were mightily in the wrong to act againſt him: That ſeeing they held their Eſtates by Virtue of no other Right, but what he had acquired the Crown by, it was manifeſtly their Intereſt to ſtand by him. On the other Hand, he gave an Inſtance of the greateſt Prudence in beginning with his Uncle's Deſtruction, who was the Author of the Conſpiracy. But his Succeſs on this Occaſion was chiefly owing to his Expedition. 1088.

William *oppreſſes the* Engliſh. Hoved. Eadm. Malm.

As the *Engliſh* had ſhow'd themſelves ready to aſſiſt him in his Neceſſity, they expected to be rewarded in proportion to their Services. But 'twas not long before they perceiv'd they flatter'd themſelves with vain Hopes. Whilſt he ſtood in need of their Aſſiſtance, he gave them fair Words: but as ſoon as he ſaw himſelf well ſettled in the Throne, he forgot his Promiſes. He even began to oppreſs them with ſeveral Impoſitions: in which he ſhow'd ſtill leſs Moderation than the late King. He was gently admoniſh'd of theſe Proceedings by *Lanfranc*, who could not forbear putting him in Mind of what he had promis'd. How careful ſoever this Prelate might be to make uſe of the moſt reſpectful Terms, *William* was extremely offended, and asked him in an angry Tone and with an Oath, *Whether he thought it poſſible for a King to keep all his Promiſes?* From thence-forward the Archbiſhop was quite out of Favour, neither did the King afford him one kind Look. But his Diſgrace was of no long Continuance. He died quickly after, lamented by both Nations, as one of the moſt worthy Prelates that had been promoted to the *See* of *Canterbury* ever ſince the Converſion of the *Saxons*.

Lanfranc *admoniſhes him about it, falls into Diſgrace and dies.*

Whilſt *Lanfranc* was alive and at Court, the Preſence of ſo venerable a Man was ſome Check to the King's vicious Inclinations. But as ſoon as he was rid of this Prelate, who had an awe over him, he threw off all Reſtraint.

Tyrannical Proceedings of the King.

1088. Reſtraint. More eſpecially he gave a looſe to his Natural Deſire of heaping up Money in order to ſquander it away again in a vain and extravagant Manner. Avaricious without Frugality, Covetous and Prodigal at the ſame time, continually ſcraping up Money without ever filling his Coffers, he was always in Want, and under a Neceſſity of inventing perpetually new Ways and Means of raiſing Money. One of his Methods, never before practis'd in *England*, was to ſeize upon the vacant Benefices. He was not ſatisfied with having the *Firſt-Fruits*, but appropriated the whole Profits to himſelf for ſeveral Years together without filling them. And after he had carried off every thing that was convertible into Money, he ſold them ſo pill'd to ſuch as bid higheſt, without troubling himſelf about their Merit or Capacity. As ſoon as the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury* was vacant by *Lanfranc*'s Death, he ſeiz'd upon the *Temporalities*, and kept them in his Hands four Years. He did the ſame with the Biſhoprick of *Lincoln*, and all others that became *Void* in his Reign. They who have written the Life of this Prince, being moſt of them *Monks* or *Eccleſiaſticks*, have bitterly inveigh'd againſt him on this Score. They ſo frequently inſiſt on this Head, that there is no room to doubt but that it was one of the principal Motives, which induced them to blacken his Reputation to the utmoſt of their Power. However this be, his Proceedings occaſioned loud Clamours among the Clergy; but the King never minded them at all. 'Twas in vain that they carried their Complaints to the Pope. The Court of *Rome* as Matters then ſtood there, durſt not intermeddle in this Affair. The *Church* was rent by a *Schiſm*, wherein *England* was not as yet engaged. Beſides *Urban* II, to whom the *Engliſh* Clergy made Application, was then taken up with projecting the Recovery of the *Holy-Land*, in which Enterpriſe he had formed a Deſign of engaging all the Princes of *Chriſtendom*. It was not poſſible therefore for

He ſeizes the vacant Benefices. Thorn.

for the Pope, nor conſiſtent with his Intereſt to fall upon *William* at ſuch a Juncture. 1089.

This Monarch had reaſon to be ſatisfied with the Poſſeſſion of a Crown, which he had no juſt Grounds ever to expect. This ſingle Conſideration no doubt ſhould have induc'd him to behave ſo towards *Robert* his Brother, as might have contributed to the making him ſit down eaſy under the Injury he had done him. But neither Duty nor brotherly Affection could weigh down in his Mind the Deſire of becoming Maſter of all his Father's Dominions. He no ſooner ſaw himſelf ſettled in the Throne of *England*, but he formed a Deſign to conquer *Normandy*. Perhaps to his greedy Temper was added the Deſire of being revenged for the Duke his Brother's Attempt to dethrone him. Be this as it will, after he had made extraordinary Preparations, the Deſign of which *Robert* never ſuſpected, he went and made a Deſcent in *Normandy*. He quickly became Maſter of St. *Valeri*, *Albemarle* and ſome other Places, whilſt *Robert* was unprovided to oppoſe this Invaſion. 1090. *William has a Deſign upon* Normandy. Malm. Hoved. Dunelm. Brompton Ord. Vital.

The Neceſſity the Duke was in of applying to a Foreign Power, obliged him to implore the Protection of the King of *France*, who came in Perſon to his Aſſiſtance. But he was not much the better for theſe Succours. *William*, who underſtood how to make uſe of Cunning as well as Force, found the Means to make *Philip* his Friend, who retired without doing any thing, leaving *Robert* expoſed as before, to the Inſults of his Brother. By the King of *France*'s Retreat, the Duke's Affairs were in a worſe Condition than ever, for having depended upon his Aid, he had taken no other Meaſures. *William* took from him ſeveral other Places, and brib'd ſome of the Burghers of *Roan*, who promiſ'd Robert *implores Aid from the King of* France, *who is brib'd by* William.

1090. miſed to deliver up the Metropolis of *Normandy* into his Hands.

Prince Henry joins his Brother Robert.

In the mean time, *Robert* was in great Straits. He had nothing to depend upon, but the Aſſiſtance of *Henry* his youngeſt Brother; but he had ſcarce any reaſon to expect any Favour from Him. *Henry* was exaſperated againſt the Duke for having taken Poſſeſſion of *Coentin* without having paid him his Debt, and was preparing to do himſelf Juſtice by Force of Arms. Nevertheleſs upon *Robert*'s promiſing to make him Satisfaction, as ſoon as the War was over, he dropt his Deſign and even eſpouſed his Cauſe. His Aſſiſtance came very ſeaſonably, to extricate the Duke out of the Danger he was in. *Henry* having been informed of the Plot that was contriving at *Roan*, entered the City on a ſudden, and ſeizing *Conon* the Chief of the Conſpirators, he threw him headlong from a Tower. By this bold ſtroke, he quaſhed the Conſpiracy, which had it ſucceeded would have occaſioned to *Robert* the Loſs of his Capital, and in all probability of his whole Dominions.

He ſaves Roan.

1091. *Peace between the King and Duke.* Fl. Wig. Ord. Vital. Malm.

The Union of the two Brothers, and the ill Succeſs of the Plot at *Roan*, put a ſtop to *William*'s Progreſs, who quickly after was obliged to ſtrike up a Peace with the Duke. The Articles of the Treaty were, that *Robert* ſhould deliver up to the King the Country of *Eu* and Towns of *Feſcamp* and *Cherburgh*, with all the Places he was in poſſeſſion of on the Coaſt of *Normandy*. *William* for his Part, obliged himſelf to aſſiſt him in reducing to Obedience the Province of *Maine* which had revolted, to reſtore to the *Normans* all their confiſcated Eſtates in *England*, and to grant ſome certain *Fiefs* to his Brother in the ſame Kingdom. Laſtly, 'twas agreed, that if either of the two Brothers died without Heirs, the Survivor ſhould ſucceed to all his Dominions. This Treaty was

was ſolemnly ſworn to by twelve Barons on each ſide, and the Brothers ſeem'd thoroughly reconcil'd. 1091.

But if theſe two Princes were pleas'd with what had been done, their younger Brother was not ſo. He was not only left out in this Treaty, but he found that *Robert* was not at all diſpos'd to keep his Word with him. Incenſed at this Treatment, he thought it lawful to right himſelf by ſome other Means, and on a ſudden ſurpriz'd St. *Michael*'s *Mount*. This unexpected Blow ſtartled *Robert*, who being unwilling to leave a Place of that Importance in the Hands of his Brother, deſired *William*'s Aſſiſtance to retake it. Though *William* had no manner of Concern in this Affair, he readily joined *Robert* in beſieging or rather blocking up this Place ſituated on a Rock, which the Sea by flowing round it twice a Day renders inacceſſible. Henry *ſeizes upon* St. Michael's Mount Malm.

Whilſt the two Brothers lay before St. *Michael*'s *Mount*, it happened that *William*, as he was riding alone at ſome diſtance from the Camp, ſaw two Horſemen coming from the *Mount*. As he was naturally of an impetuous Temper, he rid up to them in order to try to take one of them Priſoner, that he might be informed of the State of the Place. The Soldiers finding they had to deal with a ſingle Perſon only, defended themſelves, and at the firſt Encounter killed his Horſe under him, which fell upon him in ſuch a manner as he could not get up. This Accident would have coſt him his Life, if the Moment one of the Soldiers was going to kill him, he had not cried our, *Hold, Raſcal, I am the King of* England. Upon which they were ſtruck with Fear and Reſpect, and having helped him up, they gave him one of their Horſes. He nimbly vaulted into the Saddle, and then addreſſing himſelf to him that had diſmounted him, *Come*, ſaid he to him, *thou ſhalt be my Soldier for the future, and ſhalt enjoy the Reward of thy Valour*. *An Adventure of* William's. Knyghton.

Though

1091. *Generosity of* Robert *towards* Henry.

Though the Siege went but slowly on, *Henry* was driven to great Straits for want of Water. However, as he was acquainted with *Robert*'s good Nature, he did not despair of some Relief from thence, by representing to him, that it would be more glorious to subdue him by *Arms* than by *Thirst*. *Robert*, who was naturally generous, sent him immediately a Tun of Wine, and permitted him to fetch as much Water as he stood in need of. *William* having upbraided him as guilty of Folly in acting thus, *What*, replied he, *is the Quarrel between us and our Brother of that Importance, that we should desire he should die with Thirst? We may have Occasion for a Brother hereafter: but where shall we find another when we have destroyed this?* But *William* not at all pleased with this generous Act, which to him seemed very ill-timed, quitted the Siege and returned to *England*. However, *Robert* persisted notwithstanding all Difficulties to carry on the Siege, 'till he brought his Brother to surrender upon Terms. *Henry* having Liberty to go where he pleased, wandred up and down for some time without any fixed Abode, attended only by a Chaplain and three or four Domesticks.

Robert *takes the* Mount.

About the same Time *Robert* banish'd *Edgar Atheling* out of *Normandy*, and *William* forbad him ever returning into *England*. The Cause of his Disgrace is unknown; 'tis only said he retir'd into *Scotland*, his only Refuge in his Misfortunes.

Hoved.

Whilst *William* was taken up in *Normandy*, *Malcolm Macmoir* King of *Scotland* had taken the Advantage of his Absence, to make an Incursion into *Northumberland*, from whence he had carried off a great Booty. The *Northern* People were very much disgusted at the King's staying beyond Sea, at a time his Frontiers were plundering by Foreigners. Their Complaints having hasten'd his Return, he

he was no ſooner arrived, but he made great Preparations in order to be revenged of the King of *Scotland*. But fearing *Robert* his Brother, who had taken St. *Michael's Mount*, would take the Advantage of his Abſence and ſeize upon his Caſtles in *Normandy*, he deſired him to come and join him. He pretended that his Valour and Experience was abſolutely neceſſary to put an honourable End to the War. But to engage him by a more powerful Motive, he promiſed as ſoon as the Affair was over, he would punctually perform his Part of their late Treaty. *Robert* being prevailed upon by this Promiſe, and the good Opinion the King his Brother ſeemed to have of him, came ſpeedily over into *England* and accompanied him to *Scotland*. 1091.

William and Robert march into Scotland.

The Succeſs of the War did not anſwer *William's* Preparations. The greateſt Part of the Fleet he had fitted out to annoy the Coaſts of *Scotland*, was deſtroyed by a Storm. His Army ſuffered no leſs in marching over the Moraſſes and Mountains. The want of Proviſions in thoſe almoſt deſolate Places he was got into, and the Roads become impaſſable by reaſon of the bad Weather, made him viſibly loſe ſo many of his Men, that he often repented him of this Expedition. He would have been very hard put to it, by theſe Accidents, had not *Malcolm* been apprehenſive that this War, which had drawn the Enemy into his Country might in the End be attended with ill Conſequences. And therefore chooſing rather to oblige *William* to leave *Scotland* by fair Means, than venture to drive him thence by Force, he ſent him Propoſals, which, being gladly accepted of, were quickly followed by a Treaty of Peace. The Conditions were, that *Malcolm* ſhould pay *William* the ſame Homage his Father had done: That twelve Manors, he had been in poſſeſſion of in *England* before the Rupture ſhould be reſtored to him, and that *William* ſhould pay him yearly twelve Marks for all his other Claims. Prince *Edgar*, who had been employed in this Negotiation, having behaved to the Satisfaction of both Parties, *William* and *Robert* received him into Favour, and gave him leave to return into *England*. The Duke of *Normandy* was in hopes, that the War being over, the

Their ill Succeſs. Brompton.

A Peace is made. Hoved.

Edgar *reſtored to Favour.* Brompton. Hoved.

1091. King his Brother would in good earneſt think of ſatisfying him. But perceiving at length he endeavoured only to amuſe him, he returned Home in great Anger, taking Prince *Edgar* along with him.

Glamorganſhire *conquer'd by the* Engliſh. Welſh. Chron.

Whilſt *William* was in *Scotland*, *Robert Fitz-Hamon*, Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, conquered *Glamorganſhire* in *South-Wales*. He had ſerved *Jeſtyn*, Lord of *Glamorgan*, againſt *Rees* King of *Wales*, on certain Terms, which the *Welſh* Lord refuſed to ſtand to, after the War was ended. This Breach of Faith having put *Fitz-Hamon* upon reſolving to right himſelf by Arms, he drew his Friends together, attacked *Rees*, ſlew him in the Fight, and ſeized upon his Country. Twelve Knights, who had accompanied him in this Expedition, were rewarded, each of them, with a *Manor*, which they and their Poſterity enjoyed *.

1092. The next year, Prince *Henry* took by ſurprize *Domfront*, a ſmall Town in *Maine*, where he retired in Expectation of ſome better Fortune.

William *rebuilds* Carliſle.

The frequent Irruptions of the *Scots* into the *Northern* Parts of *England*, having convinced the King of the neceſſity of ſtopping their Progreſs by a ſtrong Barrier, he ordered the City of *Carliſle upon the Tine* to be rebuilt. This City, which had been deſtroyed by the *Danes*, and for 200 years together, lain in Ruins, was peopled again, and endowed with great Privileges which it enjoys to this Day *1. The Epiſcopal *See* of *Dorcheſter* was removed to *Lincoln*, and that of *Wells* to *Bath* about this Time, with the King's Conſent, which was not obtained but by a round Sum of Money.

This

* There is a Book written on this Subject by Sir *Edward Stradling*, or Sir *Edward Manſel* (for 'tis aſcribed to both) wherein you have the Names of the twelve Knights, among whom were, *Richard Granvil*, *Pain Turbevil*, *Oliver St. John*, *Robert de St. Quintin*, *William Stradling*, Names ſtill in being. See *Camden. Glamorganſhire*.

*1 *Carliſle*, (the *Luguballum* or *Lugubalia* or *Luguvallium* of the *Britains* and *Romans*, and the *Luel* of the *Saxons*) ſtands near the Confluence of the Rivers *Eden*, *Peterill*, and *Caude*, and not on the *Tine*. The Colony ſent hither by *William Rufus*, of *Husbandmen*, are by all Records ſaid to be the Firſt that tilled the Lands thereabouts.

This Monarch was become ſo Abſolute, that he met with no Oppoſition to his Will. Taxes and Impoſitions were renewed every Day on divers Pretences. Nothing happened but what the King made a Handle to levy Money upon the Cities, Burroughs, private Perſons, without ſhowing any more Favour to the *Normans* than to the *Engliſh*. None daring to make a Stand againſt theſe Oppreſſions, the People waited for no other Remedy to their Evils, but the Death of the King, which they heartily prayed for in private. A Diſtemper, which ſeiz'd him at *Glouceſter*, put them in hopes their Prayers were going to be heard. He himſelf thought he had not long to live. The Approach of Death, which to him ſeemed certain, and the Exhortations of the Biſhops that were about him, ſet him upon reflecting on his paſt Life, which was followed by ſome Signs of Sorrow and Repentance. He appeared firmly reſolved to correct the Miſmanagements in the Government, if it pleaſed God to reſtore him to his Health. The Biſhops taking the Advantage of theſe good Motions, admoniſhed him to fill the vacant Benefices. They repreſented to him what great Obſtacles he laid in the way of his Salvation, by applying the *Church*'s Revenues to Uſes contrary to what they were deſigned for. The Condition he was in, made him readily comply with whatever they deſired of him. He nominated *Robert Bloet*, one of his Counſellors, to the Biſhoprick of *Lincoln*, and pitched upon for Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Anſelm* Abbot of *Bec* in *Normandy*, who was then at the *Engliſh* Court. 'Twas with great Difficulty that *Anſelm* was prevailed upon to accept of this Dignity. He was a zealous Aſſertor of the Rights of the *Church*, and as he knew *William* was not over-ſcrupulous in theſe Matters, he dreaded the taking upon him a Burden, which to him ſeemed too weighty in ſuch a Reign. However the Perſwaſions of the Biſhops, and ſeeming Repentance of the King, brought him at length to a Compliance. Before he was conſecrated, he requeſted the King, that he wou'd be pleaſed to reſtore to the *Church* of *Canterbury* all that belonged to it in *Lanfranc*'s Time; which was poſitively

1092. 1093. *He falls ill.* Dunelm.

Shows Signs of Repentance. Eadmer.

Makes Anſelm, Archbiſhop of Canterbury. Hunting. Knyghton. Brompton. Brady.

1093. ſitively promiſed him. In the mean time, *William* finding he was out of Danger, and perceiving he daily gathered Strength, he put off Matters, in order to avoid the Reſtoring the Church-Lands. At length, as the Archbiſhop preſſed him continually upon this Score, he frankly declared his Intent was, that they to whom he had granted the ſaid Lands ſhould enjoy them, they and their Poſterity. He even told the Archbiſhop, he expected his Concurrence. But *Anſelm* would never be brought to this Compliance, which he looked upon as a downright Prevarication. This gave Riſe to the great Conteſt between the King and him, which occaſion'd a great deal of Trouble to both of them.

The King continues his Oppreſſions.

In the mean Time, *William*, whoſe Repentance proceeded entirely from the Fear of Death, finding himſelf perfectly recovered, forgot all his Promiſes, and fell to his old Courſe again. The Priſoners he had commanded to be freed, were, by his Order, more cloſely confined, and thoſe that had been ſet at Liberty, were again thrown into Priſon. Extortion, Injuſtice, and Rapine liſted up their Heads as high as ever. The Adminiſtration of Juſtice was in the Hands of ſuch as took more Care to inrich themſelves, than Diſcharge the Duties of their reſpective Poſts: All were Poor, but thoſe who had the fingering of the publick Money. There was a neceſſity of ſacrifiſing Honour and Conſcience, in order to be in Favour at Court. None but *Informers* met with any Incouragement. Theſe diſorderly Doings put many honeſt Men upon reſolving to quit the Kingdom and ſeek elſewhere that Tranquillity they could not find in their native Country. But even the Liberty of doing This, which they imagined they could not be abridged of, was taken from them by an Edict, whereby all Perſons were forbid to go out of the Kingdom without the King's Leave.

Polyd. Vir.

King of Scotland *comes to* Glouceſter.

Whilſt *England* was in this wretched Condition, *Malcolm* King of *Scotland*, came to *Glouceſter*, according to an Agreement he had made with *William*, to ſettle ſome Matters, which had been left undetermined in the late Treaty. As ſoon as the King had Notice of his Arrival, he ſent

him

him word, that he expected, in the first Place, he should do him Homage. *Malcolm* replied, he was ready to do it on the Frontiers of the two Kingdoms, according to Custom. *William* not satisfied with this Answer, let him know further that he would have it done in *Glouceſter*, it not being the *Vaſſal*'s Place to appoint where he was to do his Homage. *Malcolm*, looking upon This as a Pretence made uſe of by the King to affront him, returned Home without ſeeing him, enraged at the haughty Treatment he had met with. He was no ſooner in *Scotland*, but he began his Revenge by invading *Northumberland*. This was the fifth time he had ravaged that Country, revenging on the innocent Subjects the Wrongs he pretended to have received from the Sovereign. *Robert de Mowbray* was then Governour of the *Northern* Parts. He was a Perſon of great Courage and Conduct, and finding the King's Forces were at too great a Diſtance, he undertook to put a ſudden Stop to the Calamities his Government lay under. He drew together a Body of Troops with ſuch Expedition, that he fell on the *Scots* at a Time they thought themſelves moſt ſecure. This unexpected Attack having thrown the *Scots* into Diſorder and Confuſion, they gave Ground without making ſcarce any Reſiſtance at all. *Malcolm* and *Edward* his eldeſt Son, were at their Wits End to ſee their Army thus running away, and being deſirous to endeavour to rally them again, were both ſlain upon the Spot. The *Scotch* Hiſtorians pretend the *Engliſh* ow'd their Victory to a notorious Piece of Treachery *. Perhaps this was becauſe the *Scots* ſuffered themſelves to be ſurpriſed unawares. However this be, this fatal Battle was the Occaſion of numberleſs Evils to *Scotland* quickly after. *Mal-*

1093. Brompt. Dunelm. R. de Hagul. Fl. Wig.

Returns Home and invades Northumberland. Dunelm. Brompton

Is ſlain with his Son. Hoved. Brompt.

* *Boethius* and *Buchanan* ſay that *Malcolm* having reduced the Caſtle of *Alnewick* to Extremity, the Beſieg'd were forced to ſurrender, and only deſired, that the King in Perſon would receive the Keys of the Gates, which were brought by a Soldier upon the Top of a Lance, who ſtanding within the Wall, thruſt the Point of the Lance into the King's Eye as he was going to take them. Upon which *Edward* his Son falling too rathly upon the Enemy, receiv'd a Wound of which he ſoon after died.

1093. *Malcolm* had with him a General call'd *Walter*, to whom, as a Reward for his Services, he had given the Office of *Steward* or *great Master of his Houſhold*. From this Officer ſprang the Family of the *Stuarts*, who for a long Time ſway'd the Scepter of *Scotland*, and for above a *Century* that of *England* *. *Margaret* King *Malcolm*'s Queen, and Siſter to *Edgar Atheling*, ſurviv'd the melancholy News of the Death of her Husband and Son but three Days. Tho' *Malcolm* had left three Sons beſides of a fit Age to govern, the *Scots* placed the Crown on the Head of *Donald* his Brother. This Prince was no ſooner on the Throne, but he drove all the *Engliſh* out of the Kingdom. Among whom was *Edgar Atheling*, who taking with him the Sons of *Malcolm* his Nephews, retir'd into *England*.

Origin of the Family of the Stuarts.

Queen Margaret *dies.*

Donald *made King.*

He invades England.

The *Scots* deferred taking Revenge for their Defeat no longer than they were employed in the Coronation of their new King. Towards the End of the Summer, *Donald* at the head of his Army made an Irruption into *England*, where he aveng'd *Malcolm*'s Death in a cruel Manner. As ſoon as *William* had notice of it, he ſent an Army into the *North* under the Command of *Duncan*, natural Son to the late King of *Scotland*. At the Approach of theſe Forces, *Donald* haſtily retired into his Kingdom: But was ſo cloſely purſued that he could not avoid coming to a Battle. As his Army was much inferior in Numbers to that of the *Engliſh*, he was defeated and forced to betake himſelf to one of the *Hebrides* *1. This Blow having thrown the *Scots* into great Conſternation, *Duncan* took the Advantage of the Juncture, and got himſelf crown'd in the Room of *Donald*.

Is defeated.

Duncan *crown'd.*

About

* *Camden* ſays, *Malcolm* made *Walter* Steward of the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*, and that he was Son to *Flean* by *Neſta* Daughter to *Griffith ap Llewelin* Prince of *North-Wales*. *Flean* was the Son of *Banquo* ſlain by *Macbeth*.

*1 A Cluſter of *Iſles* called by the Inhabitants *Inch-Gall*, who retain the Manners, Cuſtoms, and Habit of the antient *Scots*, and ſpeak the *Iriſh* Language. They are commonly thought to be forty four in Number, tho' they that have travelled them, reckon them to be about 300. They are call'd by the *Engliſh*, *The Weſtern Iſles*.

About the ſame Time, new Troubles ariſing in *Wales*, the *Engliſh* Army marched thither. This War prov'd fatal to the *Welſh*, who loſt Part of their Country, after *Rees* their King had been ſlain in a Battle. 1093. *War with* Wales.

The Affairs of *Scotland* and *Wales* being ended to *William*'s Satisfaction, it was not long before he ſought freſh Occaſions to exert his Activity. *Robert* his Brother being diſguſted that the Articles of their Treaty were not yet performed, was making Preparations, which *William* was apprehenſive were deſigned for the retaking the Places he was in Poſſeſſion of by Virtue of the ſame Treaty. Accordingly, without troubling himſelf about making him eaſy, he reſolv'd to lead an Army into *Normandy* to ſecure his Fortreſſes, and make new Conqueſts. As he went to his Ships he paſs'd thro' *Haſtings*, where he viſited *Battle-Abbey*, and order'd the Church to be conſecrated, which was dedicated to St. *Martin* as the King his Father had commanded. Upon his Arrival in *Normandy* he wanted to hold a Conference with his Brother, wherein he endeavour'd to amuſe him with freſh Promiſes. This Interview proving of no Effect, they agreed upon a Second, in the Preſence of the twenty-four Barons, who had ſworn to ſee the Treaty put in Execution. *William*'s ſole Aim was to overawe the Barons that they might throw all the Blame on his Brother. But finding that inſtead of doing ſo, they openly declar'd themſelves in *Robert*'s Favour, he broke off the Conference and began his Hoſtilities. He immediately became Maſter of ſome Places, the Governors whereof he had brib'd. But afterwards, *Robert* having receiv'd Succours from *France*, retook *Argentan*, and made the Garriſon conſiſting of 800 Men Priſoners. After that, he beſieged the Caſtle of *Holms*, which ſurrendred at Diſcretion. Theſe Succeſſes made *William* ſenſible, that he would find it a difficult Matter, not to come off a Loſer by the War, in caſe the *French* Troops continued in his Brother's Service. Having learnt by Experience that *Philip* was to be moved by Preſents, he reſolved to try the ſame Way he had formerly ſo well ſucceeded in. But after the exceſſive Taxes he had laid on the Kingdom, it ſeem'd impracticable

1094. William *wars againſt his Brother* Robert. An. Sax. Fl. Wig.

Robert *aſſiſted by the* French.

1095. Mowbray *taken and impriſon'd.* Brady.

upon a falſe Information *, had the Misfortune to fall into the Hands of the Beſiegers. As ſoon as the King heard of it, he order'd the Priſoner to be led cloſe up to the Walls of *Banborrough*, and in caſe the beſieged refus'd to ſurrender, to have his Eyes put out before their Faces. Having gain'd his Ends by this Order, the Caſtle was deliver'd up upon Terms, and *Mowbray* was confin'd to *Windſor-Caſtle*, where he remain'd a Priſoner 30 Years. His Companions in the Revolt met with no better Treatment. *Roger Lacy* was outed of all his Eſtates. *Hugh* Earl of *Cheſter* redeem'd his Life for the Sum of 3000 Pounds Sterling. The Count of *Eu* having choſen to vindicate his Innocence in ſingle Combat againſt his Accuſer, and being overcome, was condemn'd to have his Eyes put out, and to be caſtrated. *William of Adres* accus'd of the ſame Crime, was ſentenc'd to be hang'd, tho' he proteſted his Innocence with his laſt Breath. All the reſt were condemn'd to divers Puniſhments, not ſo much as one eſcaping.

His Accomplices are all puniſh'd.

Quarrel between the King and Anſelm. Dunelm. Hunt Hoved.

The King was no ſooner out of his Trouble, but he fell into another, occaſion'd by the renewing of the Quarrel between him and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. He had no great Regard to the Immunities of the *Church*, which *Anſelm* ſtood up for in too haughty a Manner. He had even preſum'd to acknowledge *Urban* II. for lawful Pope, tho' he very well knew that *William* was rather inclin'd to *Clement* his Antagoniſt. In vain was it repreſented to him, that by a Law made in the late Reign, no Perſon was to acknowledge a *Pope* without the King's Conſent. This Argument had no Force with him, who pretended that the King had no Right to meddle with Eccleſiaſtical Affairs. But what Grounds had he himſelf to aſſume the Power of determining that Matter for the whole Church of *England*? The King, for his Part, was not of a Humour to give way to his Subjects, and as he began to treat him

* *Vitali* ſays, ſome Soldiers belonging to *Newcaſtle* upon *Tine*, promis'd to give him Entrance into the Town, if he would come thither privately with a few Followers. Upon which he went out one Night with 30 Soldiers, but being betray'd by his own Men, was purſued and taken by the Garriſon of *Mal-voiſin*.

him ſomewhat roughly, *Anſelm* deſir'd leave to go to *Rome*. *William* at firſt denied him, but at length conſented, being very glad to get rid of him. However, not to let him go off without ſome further Marks of his Diſpleaſure, he ſent an Officer to him, who overtaking him juſt as he was going to ſail, ranſack'd his Baggage, and took away all the Money he could find, pretending that it was againſt the Law to carry the Coin out of the Kingdom. After *Anſelm*'s Departure the King ſeiz'd upon the Temporalities of the Archbiſhoprick, and enjoy'd them as long as he liv'd. This Prelate continu'd ſome time at *Rome*, where he did all that lay in his Power to ſtir up the Pope againſt the King. But at length, finding that *Urban* did not care to eſpouſe his Quarrel, he retir'd to a Monaſtery at *Lyons*, where he remain'd till *William*'s Death. 1095.

Urban II. was juſt then going to diſcloſe the grand Deſign which for ſome Time had run in his Head. I mean the famous *Cruſado*, which was undertaken to recover the *Holy Land* out of the Hands of the *Saracens*. This great Affair is ſo well known, that there is no Occaſion to enter into Particulars. 'Twill be ſufficient to put the Reader in mind, that 'twas *Peter the Hermite* which firſt ſet this Project on Foot; that Pope *Urban* II. himſelf held forth upon it at the Council of *Clermont*, and that numberleſs Perſons of all Nations and Ranks in *Europe* were deſirous of embarking in it. The Badge of thoſe that engag'd in this Undertaking was a *Red Croſs* wrought in their Habit, and appearing on their Shoulders, from whence they were call'd the *Croiſes* [or the *Croſs'd*,] and the Expedition the *Cruſade*. Their Motto was, *It is God's Will*. The Heads of the *Croiſes* were, *Hugh* of *France*, *Godfrey of Bulloign*, *Raimund of Thouloufe*, Count of Sr. *Giles*, *Robert* Earl of *Flanders*, *Baldwin* Earl of *Haynault*, *Bohemond* Prince of *Tarentum*, *Tancred* his Nephew, and *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*. This laſt was extremely deſirous of making a Figure in this War, which made ſo much noiſe in the World: But Money was wanting to defray the Charge he was oblig'd to be at. The only Means he had to ſupply this Defect was to borrow a Sum of the 1096. *The Holy War.* Dunelm. Fl. Wig. Eadmer. Robert *mortgages* Normandy *to the King his Brother.*

1606. King his Brother, and engage *Normandy* for the Payment.
Hoved. *William* gladly receiv'd the Propoſal. But as his Kingdom was exhauſted by the great Levies of Money he had already rais'd, he was forc'd to have recourſe to new Methods. The way he judg'd the moſt ready, was to deſire the richeſt of his Subjects, particularly the Nobility and Clergy, to furniſh him with the Money he ſtood in need of. His Requeſt being equivalent to a Command, ſuch as were unwilling to comply were compell'd to it, without
Malm. reſpect of Perſons. This Compulſion gave the Lords a Pretence to treat their Vaſſals in the ſame manner, and oblige them to contribute to the King's Wants. Several Eccleſiaſticks not having the Sum demanded ready by them, were, or pretended to be, under a Neceſſity of melting down the Church-Plate, and even the *Shrines* of the Saints.

The different Tempers of the two Brothers. Let us here reflect a Moment on the different Tempers and Characters of theſe two Sons of *William the Conqueror*. The firſt makes a Conſcience of oppreſſing his Subjects to ſupply his *Quota* towards an Expedition approv'd of by all the World, chuſing rather to mortgage his *Dutchy* than raiſe the Money upon them. The other makes no ſcruple to extort Money from his People, for what was not at all to turn to their Accounr, but purely to gratify his Ambition. Hence we may judge how great an Injury *the Conqueror* did the *Engliſh* in preferring the Younger before the Elder Brother.

William *wars with* France. As ſoon as *Robert* was gone, *William* having taken poſſeſſion of *Normandy*, demanded of the King of *France* the *French Vexin*, which he pretended belong'd to the *Dutchy*. This Demand occaſion'd a War, which having nothing remarkable in it, ended the next Year in a Treaty of Peace.

1097. *His War with the* Welſh. Brompton Hoved. Hunting. Ann. Sax. The great Eaſe wherewith *William* had acquired *Normandy*. ſerv'd only to enflame his avaritious Temper the more, and ſet him upon the Conqueſt of *Wales*. With this view he made on ſome other Pretence, extraordinary Preparations, imagining he could not fail of Succeſs, as he was in hopes of taking the *Welſh* unprovided. He had reſolv'd to extirpate all the Males of that Nation, whoſe

whoſe Neighbourhood had all along been very troubleſome to the *Engliſh*. But the Honour of this Conqueſt was not reſerv'd for him. Tho' by the Aſſiſtance of ſome Deſerters, he had penetrated a good way into that difficult Country, he loſt more of his own than he deſtroyed of the Enemies Men. So that he was forc'd once more to drop this Undertaking, without having done any Thing conſiderable. 1097.

Shortly after a new Revolution in *Scotland*, made him reſolve upon ſending an Army thither under the Command of *Edgar Atheling*. *Donald*, whom we have ſeen driven out of *Scotland*, having found the means to get Footing there again, had in his turn compell'd *Duncan* to leave the Kingdom, and ſettled himſelf on the Throne. The greateſt Part of the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians pretend, that *William* as Sovereign Lord of *Scotland*, made himſelf Umpire in this Matter. They add, that doing *Edgar* eldeſt Son to *Malcolm Macmoir* the Juſtice due to him, he order'd his Troops to march into *Scotland*, and put that Prince in Poſſeſſion of the Crown. However this be, without ſtaying to examine this Matter, I ſhall only ſay, that *Edgar Atheling* by help of the *Engliſh* Army, placed young *Edgar* his Nephew on the Throne of his Anceſtors. *William* could not undertake this Expedition in Perſon, on account of the Revolt of the Province of *Maine*, which had oblig'd him to go thither and lay Siege to the Capital. 1098. *The Affairs of* Scotland.

During the King's Abſence, *Wales* was again expos'd to the Inſults of the *Engliſh*, or rather *Normans*, who began to be confounded with the *Engliſh*. *Owen* a *Welſh* Lord, Father-in-law to *Griffith* and *Cadagan* Kings of *Wales*, having been diſoblig'd by his Sons-in-law, privately invited the Earls of *Cheſter* and *Shrewsbury* into his Country, promiſing them a great Booty. The two Earls having levied ſome Troops, were receiv'd by *Owen* into *Wales*, where they committed unſpeakable Cruelties. The two Kings thus taken unawares, were forc'd to fly into *Ireland*, and leave the Country to the Mercy of the *Engliſh*. Their Flight having given their Enemies an Opportunity of marching on, they penetrated as far as the *Iſle of Angleſey*, Engliſh *invade* Wales. Chron. Gal. Ann. Sax. Hoved.

1098. *The King of* Norway *attacks* Angleſey. Pol. Virg. Hoved. Brompton Du Cheſn.

ſey, where they deſtroy'd all with Fire and Sword. Whilſt they were exerciſing their Cruelty, *Magnus* King of *Norway*, who had juſt made himſelf Maſter of the *Iſle of Man*, happen'd to come thither, and having a mind to land, the *Engliſh* endeavour'd to prevent him; and the Earl of *Shrewsbury* was ſlain in the *Skirmiſh*. His Death was look'd upon as a juſt Judgment for the horrid Barbarities he had committed in the *Iſle*. This Accident having thrown the *Engliſh* into diſorder, they were conſtrain'd to retire from the Shore. *Magnus*, after he had landed and found they had left him nothing to plunder, went on Board again, and the *Engliſh* carried off their Booty.

William *rebuilds* London-Bridge, Weſtminſter-Hall, *and a Wall round the* Tower.

Theſe little Advantages were not capable of balancing the Evils the *Engliſh* underwent this ſame Year. Beſides a great Scarcity, occaſion'd by bad Weather, which laſted ſeveral Months, the King laid heavy Taxes upon them, which were ſo much the more grievous, as the Money was to be expended in Works that were unneceſſary or at leaſt might have been put off to ſome other Time. He not only rebuilt *London*-Bridge, which had been carried away by an unuſual Flood, but pitch'd upon this Seaſon for other Works, which requir'd vaſt Sums of Money. He rais'd a new Wall round the *Tower*, and built a great Hall at *Weſtminſter* 270 foot long and 70 broad. How ſpacious ſoever this Hall might be, *William* at his return from *Normandy* found fault with its being ſo ſmall, ſaying 'twas ſcarce fit to be call'd a Bed-Chamber, in compariſon of what he had deſign'd it to be. 'Tis affirm'd, he undertook this Building purely for a Handle to raiſe Money, and that upon the ſame Account he was reſolv'd to pull it down in order to build it larger, but was prevented by other Affairs.

1099. William *relieves* Mans. Malm. Dunelm.

About Midſummer, *William* as he was hunting in *New Foreſt*, was told by a *Meſſenger* that *Hely* Count *de la Fleſche*, had ſurpris'd and taken the City of *Mans*, and was then beſieging the Caſtle, which would ſoon be forc'd to ſurrender, if it were not timely reliev'd. This News obliging him to break off his Sport, he ſent the Meſſenger back with all ſpeed, ordering him to tell the

Beſieg'd

Beſieg'd he would be with them in eight Days. At the ſame time, he turn'd his Horſe's Head towards the Sea-ſide, crying out, *He that loves me, follow me*, and ar. riv'd at *Dartmouth* that very Day, where he was deſirous to embark immediately. But the Wind was ſo contrary, that the Maſter of the Ship repreſented to him, that he could not put to Sea without manifeſt Hazard. *Tuſh*, replied the King, *ſet forward, thou never yet heard'ſt of a King that was drown'd*: And compelling him to ſail, he ſafely arriv'd at *Barfleur*. On the Morrow he ſent for the Troops he had in *Normandy*, to attend him on the Road to *Mans*, and in a few Days march'd to the Relief of the Beſieg'd. By this prodigious Expedition, he ſurpris'd the Beſiegers in ſuch a manner that he not only reliev'd the Caſtle, but took the Count of *Fleſche* Priſoner. Exulting at his Succeſs, he could not forbear jeſting on the Misfortune of his Enemy. But the Count, far from being caſt down at what had happen'd, fiercely replied, that *He had no reaſon to glory in an Advantage which he had gain'd by Surprize*, and that, *were he at Liberty again, he would let him ſee, that he ſhould not find it ſo eaſy a matter to vanquiſh him another Time*. The victorious King, hearing theſe bold Words, in point of Honour ſets his Priſoner free upon the Spot, telling him, *He deſir'd no Return, but exhorted him to do his worſt*. After this, returning to *England* with the ſame Expedition, he went and purſued his Diverſion, which this Affair had interrupted. 1099. Hunting. Ann. Sax. Dunelm. *&c.*

The ſame Year, the *Croiſes* took *Jeruſalem* by Storm, and put forty Thouſand *Saracens* to the Sword. When they came to elect a King to govern the Country conquer'd from the *Infidels*, the Majority of the Leaders of the Chriſtian Army gave their Votes for *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*. But this Prince, for Reaſons unknown, refus'd their Offer *. Upon which, the famous *Godfrey of Bulloign* Jeruſalem *taken.*

* At leaſt this paſs'd current in *England*, as we ſhall ſee in the Year 1106. 'Tis ſaid he did it out of Expectation of the Crown of *England*, and our Hiſtorians obſerve, that he never after proſper'd in any Thing he undertook.

1099. *Bulloign* was chosen, who by his Valour and Conduct, had very much contributed to the Success of that Expedition.

1100. *Earl of* Poitiers *mortgages his Dominions to the King.* Malm. Ord. Vit.

Fortune seem'd to take a Pleasure in heaping Favours on *William*. After he had got Possession of *Normandy* by a lucky hit, which he had no room to expect, an Opportunity was put into his Hands of becoming also Master of the Dutchy of *Guienne* and Earldom of *Poitou*. *William* Earl of *Poitiers*, animated by the Example of so many Princes that had engag'd in the *Holy War*, resolv'd to make One, and lead a powerful Reinforcement to the *Croises*. As he could not put his Design in Execution without great Expence, he applied to the King of *England* for the Sum he wanted, offering to mortgage his Dominions for his Security. *William* having without hesitation accepted of so advantagious a Proposal, got ready the Money with all speed. He design'd to carry it himself to the Earl, that he might at the same time, be put in possession of his Dominions consisting of *Guienne* and *Poitou*, two of the richest Provinces in *France*. Whilst he was preparing for his Voyage, he had a Mind to take the Diversion of Hunting in the *New Forest*, where an unforeseen Death put an End to all his Projects.

William *kill'd by accident as he was Hunting.* Hoved. Malm. Knighton. Brompton

'Tis said, as the King was just going to mount his Horse, he was told that a certain Monk had dreamt a Dream which portended some great Misfortune to him. As he gave but little heed to such Presages, he answer'd jestingly, that he plainly saw the Monk wanted Money; so order'd him a hundred Shillings, but however sent him word to dream better Dreams for the future *. Whether this is to be look'd upon as an Omen, or as the pure effect of Chance, it was that very Day fulfill'd. Towards the Evening *William* having wounded a Stag, was pursuing the Game full speed, when *Walter Tyrrel* a *French*

* The Monk dreamt that he saw the King gnaw a Crucifix with his Teeth, and that as he was about to bite off its Legs. the Image spurn'd him to the Ground, and as he lay groveling on the Earth, there came out of his Mouth a Flame of Fire with abundance of Smoak. *Malmsbury*.

French Knight ſhooting at the ſame Stag, pierc'd the King through the Heart, upon which he fell down dead without ſpeaking a Word *. The Murderer, tho' he knew his own Innocency, fled for it however, without any Body's endeavouring to ſeize him. Every one was buſy about the King, whoſe Body was laid in a Cart, which accidentally came by, and carried to *Wincheſter*, where 'twas interr'd next Day. *Henry* his Brother, dreading the Meaſures he had taken to ſecure the Crown might be retarded, diſpatch'd the Funeral as ſoon as poſſible, which was celebrated without much Ceremony, no one lamenting the loſs of a Prince ſo little beloved. 1100.

Thus fell *William Rufus* on the ſecond of *Auguſt* in the Year 1100, in the Forty-fourth Year of his Age, after a Reign of 12 Years, 10 Months and 20 Days. His tragical Death, in the very Place where one of his Brothers, and a Nephew of his periſh'd by no leſs extraordinary Accidents, gave occaſion for many Reflections. 'Twas publickly talk'd that God was pleas'd to take Vengeance of the *Conqueror*'s Family for his deſtroying and laying waſte the Country in ſo prodigious a manner in order to make the *New-Foreſt*. But there was no need to have recourſe to his Father's Faults; the Son had enow of his own, to take off their wonder at his periſhing by an uncommon Death. Accordingly Hiſtorians *Character of* William Rufus.

* The Circumſtances of this Matter are thus related by Sir *John Hayward*. As the King was hunting at *Choringham* in the *New-Foreſt*, he ſtruck a Deer lightly with an Arrow; and ſtay'd his Horſe to look after the Deer, holding his Hands before his Eyes to keep off the Sun-beams which dazzled his Sight; another Deer croſſing the Way, Sir *Walter Tyrrel* ſhooting at it too careleſly, or too ſteddily at the King, hit him full in the Breaſt. Mr. *Tyrrel* obſerves, tho' *Florence of Worceſter*, *Malmsbury*, and *Simeon of Durham*, (who wrote within 40 Years after this Accident) do all agree in the *Place*, and *Perſon* who had the Misfortune thus to kill this Prince, yet there are Authors of that very Age, who not only doubt, but poſitively deny that this *Walter* had any Hand in it. *Eadmer* ſays, *whether the Arrow was ſhot at him, or, as moſt affirm, ſlew him by his falling down upon it*---His Tomb (ſomewhat rais'd from the Ground) remains at this Day in the midſt of the *Choir* of *Wincheſter* Cathedral.

1100. have made no ſcruple to rank *William Rufus* among thoſe Princes who add but little Luſtre to the Throne of *England*.

This Prince had all the Vices of his Father without his Virtues. *William* I. made ſome amends for his Faults, by a Religious outſide, his great Chaſtity, and commendable Temperance. But by the Character given of his Son by Hiſtorians, it appears that he was neither Religious, nor Chaſte, nor Temperate. He was profuſe to his Favourites and Soldiers, and Magnificent in his Buildings and Habit. 'Tis ſaid that his Valet bringing him one Day a new pair of Breeches which coſt but three Shillings, he fell into a Paſſion, and order'd him never to bring him a Pair but what coſt at leaſt a Mark. 'Tis added, he was contented with a Pair not worth ſo much, being valued to him at a Mark. If we may believe them who have given us an Account of his Life, he had neither Honour nor Conſcience, nor Faith nor Religion, and that he took a Pride in appearing as ſuch. 'Tis related that one Day [fifty *Engliſh*] Gentlemen accus'd for hunting and killing the King's Deer, having paſs'd thro' the Tryal by *Fire-Ordeal* untouch'd, he ſwore that *He could not believe God was a juſt Judge, ſince he protected ſuch ſort of People.* Eadmer. *Eadmer*, who liv'd in his Time, ſays, the King took Money of the *Jews* at *Roan*, to compel ſuch as had been baptiz'd to return to *Judaiſm* *. *Malmſbury* adds, that *William* ordered ſome *Biſhops* and *Rabbins* to meet together and diſpute in his Preſence about Religion, and that he had promiſed the *Rabbins* he would be

* This Story is thus related: A young *Jew* being converted, as is ſaid, by a Viſion of a Saint, his Father preſented the King with 60 Marks intreating him to make his Son return to his old Religion. The King ſends for the young Man, and commands him without more ado to turn *Jew* again; which he refuſing to do, and wondring the King, who was a *Chriſtian*, ſhould propoſe ſuch a Thing to him, he was bid to be gone. The Father perceiving the King could do no good upon his Son, deſir'd to have his Money again. *Nay*, ſaid the King, *I have taken Pains enough for it all: However, that thou may'ſt ſee how kindly I will uſe thee, thou ſhalt have one half, and the other half thou can'ſt not in Conſcience deny me for my Pains.* Eadmer, p. 47.

be circumcis'd, if their Arguments ſeem'd to him ſtronger than thoſe of the Chriſtians. 'Tis true indeed the Hiſtorian ſays, that 'tis to be ſuppos'd he did this with a view to ridicule them. He is charg'd with denying *Divine Providence*, and openly maintaining that Prayers addreſs'd to *Saints* were vain and impertinent. 1100.

Remarks on the Hiſtorians who have given us the Character of Rufus.

But in order to judge impartially of the Teſtimony of theſe Hiſtorians, who were either *Monks* or *Eccleſiaſticks*, it muſt be conſider'd, that 'tis very poſſible they may have repreſented him in blacker Colours than he deſerv'd. The Reaſon is, becauſe he was the firſt King of *England* that ſeiz'd upon the *Church*'s Revenues, without troubling himſelf about the Clamours of the Clergy. This is what they could never forgive him for. Their ſtrong Prejudices againſt him might perhaps make them think that a Prince guilty of ſo heinous a Crime, could have neither Faith nor Religion. This Conjecture may be confirm'd by obſerving that the Writers, who charge him with Prophaneneſs, produce no Inſtances of it, but ground their Aſſertions upon ſome publick Rumours. As for Incontinency, which he is accus'd of alſo, they alledge no Particulars, not giving us ſo much as the name of any of his *Miſtreſſes*, tho' the *Amours* of Kings are not conceal'd without great Difficulty. 'Tis true, they father a Baſtard Son upon him, call'd *Berſtrand*. But this alone would not have put them ſo out of Humour with him, had not the other Actions, which more nearly touch'd them, exaſperated them. Be this as it will, I lay down this only by way of Conjecture, of which every one is at Liberty to judge as he pleaſes. In the mean time, as I don't find in the Life of this Prince, but very few Actions worthy of Commendation, to be ſet in the Balance againſt theſe Accuſations, I don't ſee how 'tis poſſible to vindicate him, of whom all the Hiſtorians unanimouſly agree to ſay ſo much Ill.

Thorn. Baker.

His ordinary Revenues were probably the ſame with his Father's. But as he ran into a great many more needleſs Expences, he increas'd them oftentimes by extraordinary Impoſitions and Taxes, which were very frequent in his

1100. Reign. To these he added the Profits of the *vacant* Benefices, which brought him very large Sums. At the time of his Death, he had in his Hands the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, the Bishopricks of *Wincheſter* and *Salisbury*, and twelve rich Abbies, besides abundance of other Church-Preferments of less Note. When he had enjoy'd the Incomes of these Benefices for some Years and had a Mind to dispose of them, he never regarded the Merits of the Persons, but only the Sum they bid for them. However 'tis related, that one Day two Monks striving to outbid one another for a rich Abbey, he perceiv'd a Third standing by, of whom he demanded how much he would give? The Monk replied, he had no Money, and if he had his Conscience would not suffer him to lay it out in that manner; whereupon the King told him, swearing by St. *Luke's Face*, his usual Oath, that he deserv'd it better than the other two, and that he should have it for Nothing.

Hunting.

Higden.

Ranulph *Prime Minister.*

Ranulph Flambart, a Man of a mean Birth, was his High-Treasurer, and the Person that invented the greatest Part of the Ways and Means the King put in Practice to extort Money from his Subjects. He was rewarded for his Services with the Bishoprick of *Durham*, which *William* conferr'd upon him a little before his Death.

Baker.

Among his charitable Works are reckon'd, the Hospital he founded at *York*, and a Church he built at *London* in *Southwark* for the use of the *Mendicant Fryars*.

Malm. Baker.

This Prince was of a middle Stature, but look'd shorter than he was, by reason he was very fat. His Hair a deep Yellow, inclined to Red, his Eyes of two different Colours, speckled with small black Spots. He was generally of a very ruddy Complexion. Tho' he was far from being eloquent, he talk'd a good deal, especially when he was angry. His Countenance was severe, and his Voice strong, which he would exalt sometimes on Purpose to frighten those he was speaking to. He is said however to converse affably enough with his Courtiers, who easily found the way to soften his fierce Temper.

Historians

Hiſtorians relate ſeveral extraordinary Accidents which happen'd in this Reign, as Earthquakes, Comets, and a Spring which ran Blood three Days together. But what did the moſt Damage was, firſt a great Fire in 1092, which burnt down a good Part of *London*. In the next Place, the Sea riſing to an extraordinary Height, overflow'd the Coaſt of *Kent*, and ſwept away abundance of People and Cattle. This Inundation cover'd the Lands that belong'd formerly to Earl *Goodwin* in the Reign of *Edward the Confeſſor*. This Place, which at this Day is call'd *Goodwin's Sands*, is famous for Shipwrecks innumerable. 1100. *Extraordinary Occurrences in his Reign.*

Malmsbury obſerves of the Reign of *William Rufus*, that notwithſtanding Men's Minds were turn'd to War, yet Exceſs and Senſuality prevail'd in a very ſcandalous Manner among the Nobility, and even among the Clergy. Vanity, Luſt and Intemperance reign'd every where, ſays that Hiſtorian. The Men appeared ſo effeminate in their Dreſs and Converſation, that they ſhow'd themſelves Men in nothing but their daily Attempts upon the Chaſtity of the Women. *Remarks of an Hiſtorian on the Corruption of Manners in this Age.*

SECT.



SECT. III.

3. HENRY I. *Sirnamed* BEAU-CLERK.

HENRY I. 1100.

THE *Engliſh* look'd upon the Death of *William Rufus* as a great Deliverance, tho' the preſent Advantage they reap'd by it was to be of no long Continuance. The *Norman* Yoke ended not with the Death of this Prince, ſeeing there ſtill remain'd two *Sons* of *William the Conqueror*, to one of whom they were quickly to be in Subjection. 'Tis true, this would have been a favourable Juncture, if they had deſign'd to throw off their Yoke, or if the two former Kings had left it in their Power to attempt it. But ſuch was their abject State, depriv'd as they were of their Eſtates, and ſhut out from all Employments, that hardly could any ſuch Thought come into their Heads. The only Courſe they had to take was to acquieſce in what the *Normans* did, who were Maſters of the Kingdom. In all likelihood theſe laſt were in great Perplexity on account of the two Brothers, who might both put in their Claims to the Crown. *Robert* Duke of *Normandy* had by his Birth a Right which ſeem'd inconteſtable, and which

The Diſpoſition of the Engliſh *and* Normans, *with regard to the Succeſſion.*


K. HENRY I.
Vertue Sc.

BRITISH MUSEUM

which was further ſtrengthen'd by the late Treaty with *William Ruſus*, wherein 'twas agreed that after the Death of one, the other ſhould be Heir to all their Father's Inheritance. Beſides, his mild and generous Temper, which had gain'd him a ſtrong Party in *England*, ſeem'd to give him a great Advantage over his Brother *Henry*, whoſe Diſpoſition was little known. But on the other Hand, his Slothfulneſs and Negligence, of which he had given but too many Inſtances, greatly prejudic'd People againſt him. His very Friends were backward to declare in his Favour, out of an Apprehenſion he was not in a Condition to ſupport his Right. They knew he was ſet out from the *Holy Land*, but were ignorant of the Place where he had halted. They were even very uneaſy upon this Score. Moreover, after the great Charge he had been at in his Voyage, they had reaſon to preſume that at his Return he would find himſelf deſtitute of all neceſſary means to diſpute the Crown with his Brother. On the contrary, *Henry* had the Advantage of being born in *England* after his Father was on the Throne, which went a great way with ſome People. Then his Pretenſions were back'd with his Preſence, and poſitive Promiſe both to the *Normans* and *Engliſh* to abrogate all rigorous Laws made ſince *the Conqueſt*, to reſtore the Government upon the ſame Foot it was in the Time of the *Saxon* Kings, to aboliſh all unjuſt and arbitrary Taxes, to reinſtate the Clergy in their Privileges, to fill up all the Vacancies in the Church, and to recall the Eccleſiaſticks that were in Exile. But all theſe Promiſes would not perhaps have had the Effect he expected, if the Diligence and Vigour he exerted at this Juncture had not added Weight to his Reaſons. Immediately after the Death of *William* he poſted to *Wincheſter*, where the Crown and Sceptre were kept with the Royal Treaſure, and would have got poſſeſſion of them. But he was ſtoutly oppos'd by *Roger de Bretevil*, one of *Robert*'s Partiſans. This Lord alledg'd, that he was bound by Oath to acknowledge the Duke of *Normandy* for King, in caſe *William* died without Heirs. That beſides, the Law of Nature gave *Robert* a Right, 1100.

1100. a Right, which could not be justly disputed. During this Contest, several other Lords being come to *Wincheſter*, there was quickly a great Concourſe of People, who came from all Parts to know what was doing. If the Choice of a King had ſolely depended upon the Lords that were then aſſembled at *Wincheſter*, the Duke of *Normandy* would no doubt have been the Man. But *Henry* gave them not time to take neceſſary Meaſures to accompliſh their Deſign. As he obſerv'd that the People were on his Side, he laid hold of that Advantage, and drawing his Sword out of the Scabbord, he ſwore, no Man ſhould take poſſeſſion of the Crown. The Diſpute ſtill growing higher, the Lords that were preſent thought fit to retire into a private Room, to conſult more calmly together what was to be done on this Occaſion. Whilſt they were debating, the People made the Name of *Henry* rebound in their Ears by their loud Acclamations, and gave them reaſon to dread 'twould be extremely dangerous for them to declare for *Robert*. So preferring their own Safety to Juſtice and Equity, they reſolv'd, in order to prevent a Civil War, which ſeem'd unavoidable, if they perſiſted in aſſerting the Rights of the Duke of *Normandy*, that *Henry* ſhould be plac'd on the Throne. This was enough to ſatisfy the Prince that his Authority was ſufficiently eſtabliſh'd. Without ſtaying for the Confirmation of the Eſtates, he ſet out immediately for *London*. On the morrow after his Arrival, *Maurice* Biſhop of that City, in Purſuance of this haſty and irregular Election, put the Crown on his Head, after having adminiſtred to him the uſual Oath.

Henry is elected,

and crown'd.

Remark on this Election,

The ſhort Space between the Death of *William* and *Henry*'s Coronation is made uſe of as an Argument by thoſe that maintain the Right of electing the Kings was confin'd at that time to a few of the principal Lords. At leaſt, they infer from hence that the *Commons* had no Hand in the Elections. *Henry* had it not in his Power to ſeize the Crown by down-right Force. Neither can it be ſaid that it was devolv'd to him as next Heir, ſeeing his elder Brother was alive. He could have it therefore

therefore no way but by Election. This being granted, to ſay he was choſen by the Nation repreſented, as at this Day, by a Parliament, it muſt be made appear that this Parliament was *then* Sitting. But that is impoſſible. Much leſs ſtill can it be ſaid, that in three Days Time, the *Eſtates* could be ſummoned and actually aſſembled. This is a plauſible Argument: But the Truth is, nothing can be concluded from it, becauſe there had been as yet no Regulations made ſince *the Conqueſt* about the Succeſſion of the Crown *. 1100.

As *Henry*'s pretended Election interrupted the natural Order of the Succeſſion, 'twas to be feared, it would have ſuch Effects on the Minds of the People as might prove of dangerous Conſequence. 'Twas therefore highly neceſſary he ſhould enter upon his Reign in ſuch a Manner as might give his Subjects room to hope well of his Government. The Performance of his Promiſes being as it were the *Criterion* which was to demonſtrate the Sincerity of his Intentions, he began with that, in order to gain the People's Affection. He ſet about in the firſt Place, the reforming his Court, where the King his Brother had ſuffered many Abuſes to creep in. The Courtiers for the moſt Part, ſure of going unpuniſhed, were wont to tyrannize over the People in a ſhameful manner. Not content with loading them with all kinds of cruel and unjuſt Oppreſſions, and with ſecretly attempting the Chaſtity of the Women, they publickly boaſted of theſe Things; ſo far were they from any Fear of Puniſhment. To cure theſe Diſorders *Henry* publiſhed a very ſevere Edict againſt all Offenders in general, but particularly againſt *Adulterers*. As for thoſe that abuſed their Power in oppreſſing the People, he ordered them to be put to Death without Mercy. Some who were already notorious upon that Account, were driven from Court, and *Ranulph* Biſhop of *Durham*, Henry *reforms abuſes*.

* This Diſpute whether the *Commons* had any ſhare in the Electing of the Kings, ſeems to proceed from not conſidering that the *Barons* had all the Lands in their Hands in thoſe Days, and that there were no ſuch thing then as what we call *Commons* now, nor till ſome time after. See Note p. 174.

1100. the detested *Minister* of the late King was thrown into Prison.

Grants his Subjects a Charter.

If these Proceedings caused the *English* to have a good Opinion of the new King and his Government, what he did soon after was no less acceptable to them. To convince them that he really intended to perform what he had promised, he abolished the *Couvre-feu*, which they looked upon as a constant Badge of their Servitude. This Favour was followed by another of much greater Importance; I mean a *Charter*, wherein he confirmed divers Privileges they had enjoyed under the *Saxon* Kings, and renounced all those unjust Prerogatives the two late Kings had usurped. By this *Charter*, *Henry* restored the *Church* to her antient Liberties, and set her free from all those Oppressions she had for some time been subject to, particularly during the vacant *Sees* and *Abbies*. He consented that the Heirs of *Earls* and *Barons* upon a *Death*, should enter upon their Inheritance [paying only a lawful Relief] without being obliged to pay the King any Thing by way of *Redemption*: And at the same time required the Lords to deal in the same manner with their *Vassals*. He agreed that the *Nobles* might marry their Daughters without asking the King's Consent, provided it was not to the Enemies of the State. He appointed the Mothers, or neareſt Relations, *Guardians* to *Minors*. He made a Standard for *Weights* and *Measures* throughout the Kingdom, and ordained that *Coiners* should be punished with loss of Limbs. In fine, having granted a general Pardon for all Crimes committed before his Coronation, and remitted all *Arrears* and Debts due to the Crown, he added a very material Article, which was no less satisfactory to the *Normans* than *English*, which was the Confirmation of the Laws of King *Edward*, that is, of the Laws, which were in force during the Reigns of the *Saxon* Kings, and which were entirely laid aside or expressly abolished after the *Conquest*. The Native *English* could not but be extremely well pleased to see their antient Laws restored. And the *Normans* were no less Gainers by it. Hitherto they held their Estates at the Will of the

the *Conqueror*, conſequently were liable to be outed at his Pleaſure. But by this *Charter*, which confin'd the Royal Authority within its antient Bounds, they were ſettled in their Poſſeſſions, and ſcreen'd from the Violence of Arbitrary Power. This *Charter* having been approv'd and ſign'd by the Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, ſeveral Copies were tranſcrib'd and laid up in the principal Monaſteries to be conſulted upon Occaſion *. 1100.

This good Beginning gave the People room to hope great Things from this Reign, ſeeing there were ſeveral Alterations already much for the better. But ſtill there was one Thing wanting to compleat their Satisfaction, the recalling *Anſelm* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who had gain'd their Eſteem and Affections, by his vigorous Oppoſition to the late King's Oppreſſions. *Henry*, willing to ſatisfy them in this Point, wrote a Letter to the Archbiſhop, who was ſtill at *Lyons*, to invite him to return to his *Dioceſe*. At the ſame Time he let him underſtand, he deſign'd to be guided by his Directions, and to entruſt him with the Adminiſtration of Affairs. *Anſelm*, to whom this News had given Wings, return'd forthwith into *England*, to the great Joy of the People. 1101. Anſelm *recall'd.*

The Arrival of this Prelate was no leſs agreeable to the King. He had need of him in an Affair which could not be manag'd without his Aſſiſtance. As his Deſign was to gain the Affections of the *Engliſh*, he believ'd nothing would contribute more towards it, than his marrying *Matilda* Daughter to *Malcolm* King of *Scotland* by *Margaret* Siſter to *Edgar Atheling*. Indeed this Alliance could not but be very grateful to the People, ſeeing it would be the means of reſtoring the Royal Family of the *Saxons* to the Crown. *The King marries* Matilda *of* Scotland.

* There were as many Copies as Counties, which were ſent to certain Abbies in each County: And yet there was ſcarce one to be found in the Reign of King *John*, whoſe *Magna Charta* was founded upon it. There is a Copy at this Day in the *Red Book* of the *Exchequer*. And *Matthew Paris* (page 55) has given us a Tranſcript of that which was ſent into *Herefordſhire*, which you may find tranſlated by *Tyrrel*. p. 114. B. III. Vol. II.

1101. *Obstacles to the Marriage.*

Henry had already demanded the Princess of King *Edgar* her Brother: But he met with a great Obstacle in his Way. *Matilda* had been educated in *England* in the Monastery at *Wilton*, where she had put on the *Veil*. 'Tis true, 'twas alleged in her behalf that she had not vowed Virginity, nor taken up the *Veil* but as a Safeguard to her Honour, which was supposed to be in Danger at the beginning of *the Conquest*. But this Reason did not seem sufficient to the two Kings to justify their Proceeding any farther in this Matter, tho' they were both equally desirous of the Match. Every one knew *Matilda* had put on the *Veil*, and 'twas generally believed she had vowed Chastity. Some even affirm, that she excepted against her Marriage as unlawful, and add, that when press'd upon the Score of Reasons of State she yielded to the Instances of her Brother and Lover, she curs'd the *Line* that was to spring from her, as abominable in the sight of God. The Decision of this Matter, which appeared so difficult, being left to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he would not undertake it alone; but called in the Assistance of a Council which met at his Palace at *Lambeth*. This Assembly being entirely inclined to the King's Side, the Reasons for *Matilda*'s being at free Liberty to marry, were so well managed, that the Council declared the intended Marriage to be good and lawful. Pursuant to this Declaration, it was quickly after solemnized to the general Satisfaction of both Kingdoms.

M. Paris. P. Ving.

Duke Robert claims the Crown. Vitul. Eadm.

Whilst these Things were transacting, Duke *Robert* was returned to *Normandy*, and had taken Possession of his Dominions without any Opposition. Tho' *Normandy* was mortgaged to the late King, *Henry* did not think fit to dispute the Matter with his Brother, at a Time when he himself was apprehensive of being attacked upon the Account of *England*. Duke *Robert* in his way home from the *Holy-Land* had made some stay in *Apulia*, where he married a Wife, which delay had given his Brother an Opportunity of securing the Crown. He was no sooner arrived, but he openly showed his Discontent at having been thus supplanted, and firmly resolved to attempt

tempt the Recovery of what he had been depriv'd of during his Abſence. The Biſhop of *Durham*, who having found the means to eſcape out of Priſon, and was retired to *Normandy*, did not a little contribute to confirm him in his Reſolution. Moreover, ſeveral *Norman* Lords, who had conſented to *Henry*'s Election out of a kind of Compulſion, began to contrive how to place *Robert* on the Throne. They had already been tampering with ſome of the Chief of the *Engliſh* Lords, in order to get them into their Plot. As they knew him to be a mild and good-natured Prince, they promiſed themſelves much greater Happineſs under him than under *Henry*, who appeared to be a Perſon of more Vigour and Reſolution. In the mean Time, the Rumour of *Robert*'s preparing to aſſert his Rights, wrought variouſly on People's Minds. Some were for continuing firm to the King, and keeping the Oath they had taken to him. Others on the contrary, tho' ſatisfied with the King's Proceedings, yet reſumed their former Inclinations for the Duke his Brother, inſomuch that *Henry* was in great Perplexity. If he was ſomewhat loth to truſt to the Fidelity of the *Engliſh*, they were no leſs doubtful of the Sincerity of his Intentions. What they had experienced from the two late Kings, gave them but too much reaſon to dread, that the Part he had hitherto acted was only to amuſe them and prevent their ſiding with his Brother. In this uncertainty *Anſelm*'s Aſſiſtance was of great uſe to *Henry* in fixing the *Engliſh*, who ſeemed to float between the two Parties. The Archbiſhop, who was indebted to the King, was very glad to ſhow his Gratitude on this Occaſion. He aſſembled the chief of the *Engliſh* and *Norman* Grandees, and ſo poſitively aſſured them that the King would make good all his Promiſes, that they ſeemed very well ſatisfied. And yet it no ſooner was known that the Duke of *Normandy* was going to embark for *England*, but the greateſt Part of the Nobles declared for him, and Part of the Fleet followed their Example. This gave the Duke an Opportunity to land at *Portſmouth*, where he was received without any Oppoſition. He was not ignorant how the *Engliſh* ſtood affected. 1101.

1101. affected. Such as came over to him every Day, assured him how well-wishers their Countrymen were to his Cause. They put him in hopes that the King would quickly find himself deserted by the whole Nation, who look'd upon their Oath of Allegiance, as an involuntary Act. In the mean Time, *Henry* took all the Measures he thought requisite to frustrate the Designs of the Duke his Brother, by making use of *Anselm*'s Credit, on whom the People seem'd to rely very much. As soon as the Army was ready to march, the Archbishop came and called the principal Officers together, to whom he represented in so lively a manner the heinousness of breaking their Oath of Allegiance, that he confirm'd them in their Duty to such a Degree, that they unanimously promised to hazard their Lives and Fortunes in Defence of the King. *Robert* who expected Matters would have gone quite otherwise, plainly saw this Turn would prove very prejudicial to his Affairs. He had not so much depended on his own Forces as on the Assistance of the *English*. In hopes that the Majority would abandon the King in order to join him, he had proceeded so far as to threaten such as persisted to support the Interest of the Usurper; for so he stiled his Brother. But when he found that the Body of the Nation declared for the King, and the Army had just renewed their Oath of Allegiance, he was sensible his Design was become impossible. Thus falling on a sudden from the Top of all his Hopes, he clos'd in immediately with the Proposals of Peace the King had sent him. An Accommodation appear'd to him so much the more necessary, as he perceiv'd that even those that at first had been the most zealous for him, began to waver. Things standing thus, and the two Brothers being equally desirous to come to a Treaty, the Lords of both Parties met together to consult upon the Means. 'Twas easy to see that *Robert* did not expect to obtain by Treaty a Crown, which was not in his Power to acquire by Arms. So that in consideration that *Henry* was already crown'd, and that he was born in the Kingdom after the King his Father

Robert *strikes up a Peace with his Brother.*

Father was on the Throne, the Reſult of the Conference was, that he ſhould keep poſſeſſion of the Crown. He promiſed for his Part to deliver up to *Robert* the Caſtles in *Normandy* that were garriſon'd with *Engliſh*, and to pay him yearly the Sum of 3000 Marks. It was ſtipulated alſo, that if one of the two Brothers died without Children, the other ſhould be his Heir. This Agreement being ſign'd and ſworn to by Twelve Lords of each Side, the Armies were disbanded. *Robert* ſtaid two whole Months at the Court of *England*, living in perfect Amity with his Brother. 1101.

This Accommodation was very advantageous to the King on ſeveral Accounts. It not only ſecur'd him the Crown which he ran ſome Risk of loſing, but moreover rendered him more fear'd and eſteem'd, when People ſaw that he had found the Means by his prudent and ſteady Conduct to extricate himſelf out of ſo ſlippery and dangerous a Buſineſs. However, he could not forget the Hazard he had run. As he was apprehenſive his Enemies might hereafter make freſh Attempts to dethrone him whenever an Opportunity offered, he reſolved to be beforehand with them, by ruining them one after another. 'Twas no hard matter for him to make them feel by Turns the Effects of his Reſentment. Opportunities of being revenged are ſeldom wanting to thoſe who have the Power in their Hands. Soon after the Treaty he attack'd on divers Pretences *Hugh de Grantmenil*, *Robert de Pontfract*, and ſome others, who plainly perceived that their greateſt Crime conſiſted in the Good-will they had born the Duke of *Normandy*. He was particularly exaſperated againſt *Robert de Beleſme*, becauſe he had ſhown him the leaſt Reſpect, and ſtill continued to diſcover his Deſire of exerciſing new Troubles. This young Lord, who was Son to the late Earl of *Montgomery*, boldly gave out, that *Henry* was an Uſurper, and that 'twas a diſhonourable Thing for the *Normans* as well as for the *Engliſh* to ſuffer him to take the Crown from his elder Brother. He was not ſatisfied with talking thus indiſcreetly, but render'd himſelf

1102. Ord. Vital. Brady.

Henry *revenges himſelf on his Enemies*

He attacks Robert de Beleſme.

1102. himself formidable, by fortifying his Castles in *Shropshire*. The King, who had determin'd to ruin him, was not displeased at his giving him so fair a Handle to do it by his imprudent Proceedings. To complete his Destruction, he had set Spies about him, who feigning to come into his Measures, observed all his Actions, and took care to have such Things said to him before suborn'd Witnesses, as tended to render him criminal. When the King thought he had Evidence enough against him, he order'd him to be accused of five and forty Articles, the least of which was sufficient to bring him in guilty. *Belesme* being oblig'd to appear in Court, ask'd leave for Time to prepare his Answer; which being granted him, he took the Opportunity to make his Escape and retire to *Shrewsbury*, where he hoped he should be able to defend himself by the Assistance of the *Welsh*, who had espoused his Cause. When he had resolv'd upon this, he buoy'd himself up with the Hopes of Succours from several other Lords, who seemed to be entirely of the same Mind with himself. But whether he had been imposed upon, or whether they did not think him a fit Person to be at the Head of such an Enterprize, he found himself abandoned by all, and by that means saw, though too late, the Vanity of his Projects. The King having proclaimed him a Traytor, marched against him with so superiour a Force, that in few Days he became Master of *Shrewsbury*, where the Rebel durst not stay his coming. After which, he took all his other Castles, and compelled him to quit all that the Earl his Father had held in *England*, and to retire to *Normandy*, where he carried with him his Ill-Temper. *Henry* confiscated his Estate, and involved his Brothers in the same Punishment, notwithstanding their Innocency, so desirous was he of rooting out the whole Family.

1103. *Contest between the King and* Anselm *about Investitures.*

The Insolence of this Lord was not the Occasion of so much Trouble to the King, as the Haughtiness of Archbishop *Anselm*, with whom he had a Contest which threw him into great Perplexities. The Archbishop had two Projects in his Head, which could not in all likelihood he brought about without much difficulty. The first

first was, to oblige the *Clergy* to live unmarried, and the second to wrest from the King the Investiture of Bishops and Abbots. To attain his Ends, he *conven'd* a *Synod*, where in the first Place he got all the married Priests to be excommunicated, though they were very numerous then in *England*. *Henry*, who was not much concerned in this Matter, being unwilling to give the Archbishop any Disgust, the Decree passed in the *Synod*, notwithstanding the Struggles of the inferior *Clergy* to the contrary, who in vain tried to ward off that Blow. An Historian remarks on this Point, that although *Anselm*'s good Intentions were generally applauded, yet 'twas thought 'twould be a Thing of dangerous Consequence to compel the Priests to a Continency, which 'twas not in the Power of several amongst them to observe; and adds, 'twas justly feared that this Rigour would occasion their committing Uncleanness of a much more criminal Nature than the Marriage they were prohibited from. 1103. Hunt.

Anselm having gained his Ends in the first Point, set about the other, and would have proceeded to excommunicate the Bishops that had been invested by the King. But here the Case was quite different from the former. The King's Interest was too much concerned not for him to oppose to the utmost of his Power the abolishing a Prerogative his Predecessors had enjoyed without Molestation. But how much soever he exerted himself on this Occasion, he could not prevent some Bishops who had received their *Investitures* from him, from resigning their Bishopricks out of fear of being excommunicated. On the other Hand, *Anselm* refused to consecrate such as were nominated to their Bishopricks by the King, unless he would give up the Right of *Investitures*. This new Claim which the Archbishop very boldly asserted, finding himself backed by the Court of *Rome*, occasioned between him and the King a Quarrel which continued on Foot several Years. As *Henry* would not recede from his Prerogative, *Anselm* affirmed, that for his Part he could not submit without betraying the Cause of God. All hopes of an Accommodation being taken away by the Obstinacy of both Parties, Anse'm *applies to the Pope.* Paris.

1103. the Archbishop resolved to carry his Complaints to *Paschal* II. who was then Pope. In all appearance 'twas by his Orders that he had embarked in this Enterprize. He was attended in his Journey by the Prelates that had resigned their Bishopricks, and upon his Arrival at *Rome* instantly demanded of the Pope that he would be pleased to restore them by his Authority: *Then*, says an Historian, *the Holy See, whose Clemency is open to all the World, provided care be taken to prepare it beforehand by a certain dazzling Metal, restored the Bishops, and sent them back to their respective Churches.* The King being informed that *Anselm* was gone to *Rome*, dispatched thither Ambassadors to plead his Cause. *Hebert* Bishop of *Norwich*, and *Robert* of *Lichfield*, were pitched upon for this Purpose, and set out for *Rome* in Company with *William de Warelwast*, an Ecclesiastick of great Learning, who was to assist them with his Advice. Though these Ambassadors maintained the King's Cause with a great deal of Zeal and Resolution, *Paschal* would abate nothing of his Pretensions. The Affair was carried so far, that the King was upon the Point of being excommunicated. On the other Hand, the Archbishop was deprived of his Temporalities, during his being out of the Kingdom. At length, after a great many Contests for near three Years together, both Parties happening to be in such Circumstances, as made them equally wish to see an End of the Quarrel, the Pope gave the Bishops leave to do Homage to the King, and *Henry* gave up the Point of Investitures. Thus this Business was brought to a Conclusion, which I have but just mentioned here, because I design to treat more fully of it in another Place.

Paris.

1104. Though the King's Contest with the Court of *Rome* gave him a great deal of Trouble whilst it lasted, yet it did not hinder him from minding his other Affairs. *Robert* his Brother, who was then in *England*, but too well experienced how attentive he was to any thing that was like to turn to his Advantage. The Reason of the Duke of *Normandy*'s Visit was to press the Payment of his Pension. But *Henry* knowing his Brother's mild and generous Tem-

Robert *visits the King his Brother.*

Ann. Sax. Malm.

per, careſſed him in ſuch a Manner, and gave him ſo good Words, that he got him inſenſibly to deſiſt from his Demands. This unſeaſonable Piece of Generoſity coſt the Duke very dear, ſince it proved the Occaſion of his Ruin in the End. His eaſy and liberal Temper had all along ſpoiled his Deſigns. We have already ſeen in the Beginning of the Reign of *William Rufus*, how ill he laid out the Money *Henry* had lent him, inſtead of employing it in keeping up his Party in *England*, by which imprudent Management he loſt the Crown for that Time. Afterwards he borrowed Ten Thouſand Marks of King *William* for his Voyage to the *Holy-Land*. This Sum not being ſufficient to defray the great Expences he was at, he had contracted ſo many Debts during the Voyage, and after his Return, that he was fain to mortgage almoſt all his *Demeſns*. He had nothing left but the City of *Roan*, which he would have mortgaged, if the Burghers would have conſented to it. His Wants, which daily increaſed, quickly made him ſenſible of his Overſight in not inſiſting upon the Penſion, which he might juſtly demand of his Brother. He complained they had abuſed his eaſy Nature; and as he imprudently added to his Complaints ſome Menaces, he gave *Henry* a Handle openly to act againſt him. The King did not want much ſpurring on to break entirely with his Brother. Ever ſince he found himſelf in peaceable Poſſeſſion of *England*, he began to look with a greedy Eye on *Normandy*, and was extremely deſirous of annexing it to his Crown. *Robert*'s ill Conduct confirmed him in the Hopes of being one Day Maſter of that Dutchy. And as he waited only for a favourable Opportunity to put his Deſigns in Execution, he did not fail to lay hold of the firſt that offered.

1104. *Gives up his Penſions:*

Repents of it, and complains of the King.

It hath been related, that *Robert de Beleſme*, after he had loſs'd his Eſtates in *England*, was retired to *Normandy*: Where he was no ſooner arrived but he endeavoured to be revenged on the King, by falling upon ſuch of his Subjects as had Lands in thoſe Parts, under a Pretence of making himſelf amends for what the King had taken from him

Beleſme *raiſes Troubles in* Normandy. Brady.

1104. in *England*. The Duke's Indolence in not oppoſing theſe Outrages at firſt, rendered this Lord the more fierce and preſumptuous. He committed ſo many Violences, that Complaints were brought againſt him from every Quarter. *Defeats the Duke,* At length *Robert*, rouz'd by the People's Murmurs, reſolved to chaſtiſe him, and levied an Army to put a ſtop to theſe Diſorders; but had the Misfortune to be worſted. The Rebel, blown up with his Succeſs, and ſpurred on by his Audaciouſneſs and Ambition, formed a Project of becoming Maſter of the whole Dutchy. Whilſt he was carrying on his Deſign, he was ſtrengthened by the eldeſt of the *Conqueror*'s two Half-Brothers. Not being ſatisfied with the Earldom of *Cornwall*, he pretended that the King ought to give him up moreover the Earldom of *Kent*, which his Uncle the Biſhop of *Bayeux* had enjoyed. But not meeting with that Satisfaction in this particular, which he had expected, he fell into ſo great a Paſſion with the King as even to threaten him. His inſolent Behaviour cauſed the King to diſpoſſeſs him of the Earldom of *Cornwal*, as a Puniſhment for his Raſhneſs. Upon which, not being able to ſtay any longer in *England*, he retired extremely diſſatisfied into *Normandy*. As ſoon as he was arrived, he joined *Robert de Beleſme*, and ſtrengthened his Party in ſuch a Manner, that the Duke was fain to ſtrike up a Peace with them on Terms very diſhonourable to a Sovereign Prince.

who makes Peace with him.

1105. This Peace, inſtead of reſtoring Tranquillity to the Country, ſerved only to increaſe the Inſolence of the two Earls, who contemning the Duke's Orders, continued daily to commit Ravages inſupportable both to the Nobles and People. At length, ſome of the chief Men of the Country finding themſelves thus oppreſſed by theſe two Tyrants, without any hopes of Protection from the Duke, entered into a Reſolution of applying to the King of *England* for Redreſs. Their Suit was very welcome to *Henry*, who only wanted a Pretence to interfere in the Affairs of *Normandy*, that he might have an Opportunity of ſeizing the Dutchy. But as his Deſign was de-

The Normans apply to the King of England. Vital. Malm.

teſtable

teſtable in it ſelf, he endeavour'd to give it the Face of Juſtice, by making appear he acted from quite another Motive. To this Purpoſe, he writ a Letter to his Brother, wherein he repreſented to him, that his Conduct gave the *Normans* juſt Cauſe of Complaint, ſince he protected Perſons who ought to be look'd upon as Enemies to the Publick; That the Peace he had concluded with them, leaving the Country expoſed to their Ravages, his Subjects could no longer conſider as their Sovereign, a Prince from whom they could expect no Protection; That he entreated him therefore to redreſs the Grievances the *Normans* complained of, or not to think it ſtrange, that in Caſe he would not, he ſhould himſelf eſpouſe the Cauſe of thoſe that made their Application to him. To theſe Remonſtrances, he ſubjoin'd ſome Complaints of certain Injuries, which he pretended had been done to himſelf, and demanded ſpeedy Satisfaction. No doubt he would have taken it very ill, if the Duke had medled or made with his Affairs. But ſuch is the unrighteous Proceedings of moſt Men, that they make no ſcruple to practice themſelves what they condemn in others, and fancy that the World is ſo blind as not to ſee the Injuſtice of their Actions, becauſe they have the addreſs to varniſh them over with the Pretence of Love and Kindneſs. 1105.

Henry *levies an Army in* England; Brady.

Whilſt *Henry* made as if he had no other Deſign but to relieve the *Normans*, he himſelf oppreſſed his own Subjects, by an exhorbitant Tax. He pretended, he was forced to go and wage War with the two Tyrants of *Normandy*; a War, wherein the *Engliſh* were not at all concern'd. Notwithſtanding his fair Promiſes to the People, this Tax was levied with all the Rigour imaginable, even to the impriſoning and plaguing divers ways ſuch as refuſed, or had not wherewithal to pay it. As ſoon as his Preparations were finiſh'd, he went to *Normandy* with a numerous Army, carrying with him large Sums of Money, with which he brib'd the Nobles and Governours of the Strong-Holds. He could the better do this, as *Robert* was not in a Condition to traverſe his Deſigns,

and paſſes over into Normandy, *where he makes great Progreſs.*

or

1105. or to ſecure the Allegiance of his Subjects by the ſame Methods. The poſture of Affairs affording the King better Opportunities than he could expect at any other Time, he ſeiz'd upon *Caen* and ſome other Cities. The Duke of *Bretaign* and the Earl of *Anjou* even permitted him to garriſon ſome of the Frontier-Towns, for fear of drawing upon themſelves the brunt of the War, deſigned againſt *Robert*. On the other Hand, they that had invited him over to their Aſſiſtance, plainly foreſeeing that if the Quarrel was made up, it muſt needs tend to their Prejudice, never ceaſed exhorting him to puſh on his Conqueſts, and make himſelf Maſter of all *Normandy*. They repreſented to him, that it was the only way to eaſe them of the Oppreſſions they lay under, ſeeing they could expect no Aſſiſtance from their Sovereign. The Biſhop of *Seez*, ſworn Enemy to the two Earls, who had outed him of his Dioceſe, blew up the Flame to the utmoſt of his Power, and miſs'd no Opportunity of ſtirring up *Henry* to go through with this Undertaking. One Day, as he was with him in the Church of *Carenton*, he cauſed him to take notice how full the Church was of Goods, which the People had brought thither to ſecure them from the plundering Tyrants. This gave him occaſion to make a long Harangue, wherein he repreſented to him, that the Riſe of all their Miſeries was owing to the careleſſneſs or connivance of the Duke; and added, that the Country would never be reſtored to its former Tranquillity, till they had another Maſter. In fine, he conjur'd the King to take upon him the Government, and free the *Normans*, the antient Subjects of his Family, from the wretched State they were reduc'd to. *Henry*, who only wanted a Cloak for his Injuſtice, liſtened very attentively to this Diſcourſe, and pretending to be touch'd with Compaſſion for the *Normans*, promis'd to exert his utmoſt to procure them the Relief they expected at his Hands. However, he expreſs'd an extreme Regret at being forc'd to deprive his Brother of his Dominions, who by reaſon of his Incapacity was running headlong into Deſtruction. Purſuant to this Reſolution,

ſolution, which he pretended to have taken up purely out of Neceſſity, and in Compliance to the Intreaties of the *Normans*, he continued the War. *Robert* made but a weak Defence, becauſe not having in the leaſt ſuſpected the King's Deſigns, he had no Time to prepare himſelf. So that *Henry*, having put Matters on ſo good a Foot, in his firſt Campagne, return'd to *England* with a Deſign to raiſe during the Winter, the Money and Forces he ſhould have occaſion for to finiſh the Work he had ſo happily begun. 1105.

The Duke of *Normandy* was then in a very wretched Caſe. He perceiv'd at length that his Ruin was determin'd, but he knew not how to prevent his Fate. In this Perplexity, he reſolved upon going to the King his Brother, to try to move him by humbling himſelf before him. As he himſelf was of a kind and generous Diſpoſition, ſo he could not believe but the King was of the ſame Temper. Poſſeſs'd with this Notion, he came to *England*, where he ſued for Peace, in a manner ſuitable enough to his Condition, but unworthy of the Son of *William the Conqueror*. *Henry*, who was not of ſo eaſy a Nature, was deaf to all his Intreaties. He had got it in his Head to lay hold of the preſent Juncture, to become Maſter of *Normandy*. Accordingly nothing could prevail upon him to come to an Accommodation, which would have very much curtail'd his Deſigns. For this Reaſon, he obſtinately refuſed to enter into any Negotiation, and thought he dealt very kindly by his Brother, in permitting him to return Home. *Robert* finding nothing was to be done, departed full of Rage and Vexation, and threatning highly what he would do; which *Henry* little regarded. An Hiſtorian * aſſures us however, that the King felt ſome Remorſe for the Injury he was doing his Brother, who had never given him any Cauſe of juſt Complaint, and from whom he had already taken a Crown. But if he had any ſuch Thoughts, they were but ſhort-liv'd. The only Effect theſe Reflections had on him, was to inſpire him with a Dread, that his Brother's Wrongs might ſtir up the Compaſſion of the *Engliſh*, 1106. Robert *ſues for Peace*; Paris. Vital. *but can't obtain it.* Malm. * Paris

1106. *liſh*, and revive the Affection they had formerly ſhown for that Prince. This Thought giving him ſome Uneaſineſs, he judged it neceſſary to prepoſſeſs his Subjects in his Favour, by renewing his Promiſes. To this End,
Paris. he convened *the Great Council* or *Parliament*, and endeavour'd, in a premeditated Diſcourſe, to make appear to the Aſſembly the Juſtice of his Undertaking. He repreſented to them, " That *Robert*'s refuſing the Kingdom " of *Jeruſalem* had drawn down on his Head the Ven- " geance of God, by whom, ever ſince that Time, he had " been viſibly forſaken, as a Prince unworthy of his Care, " after he had ſlighted ſo great a Favour (*a*). He ag- " gravated the Oppreſſions the *Normans* groaned under, " and ſtrove to make the *Engliſh* believe, 'twas incum- " bent on them to take in Hand the Defence of a miſe- " rable People. He deſired the Lords to conſider his own " peaceable Temper, and how patiently he had taken his " Brother's Menances, to which he had made no other re- " turn but brotherly and gentle Admonitions. He " dwelt very much upon the Duke's ill Qualities. He " diſplayed his exceſſive Profuſeneſs, which made him a " continual Burden to all the World. Moreover he ac- " cuſed him of an extreme Arrogance, and of having on " all Occaſions ſhown an utter Contempt for the *Engliſh* " Nation. He aſſured them for his Part, that he per- " ſiſted always in his Reſolution of governing according " to juſt Laws, of which the *Charter* he had granted " them was an undeniable Argument. In fine, he added, " that provided he was ſure of the Hearts and Affections " of the *Engliſh*, he valued nothing that his Enemies " could do againſt him. " This Speech had the Effect he expected from it. All the Lords finding themſelves honoured by the Confidence he placed in them, and flattering themſelves that he would make good his Promiſes, unanimouſly aſſured him they would ſtand by him with their Lives and Fortunes.

What

(*a*) Hence 'tis plain that it was believed in *England* that *Robert* had refus'd the Crown of *Jeruſalem*; otherwiſe *Henry* could not have urg'd it againſt his Brother.

What colour ſoever the King might give his Ambition, 'twas eaſy to ſee the weakneſs of the Reaſons he alledged in Vindication of this Undertaking. The Truth is, his Reaſons were not ſo much as plauſible. The pretended Refuſal of the Crown of *Jeruſalem* had no better Foundation than an uncertain Rumour ſpread over *England*, which in all likelihood was falſe, ſeeing the beſt Hiſtorians make no mention of that Particular. But ſuppoſing the Thing had been as true as it was doubtful, *Robert* might poſſibly, in refuſing the Crown, have acted out of Modeſty, as well as from a Principle of Pride or Irreligion. But be this as it will, *Henry* could have no Right from thence to deprive him of his Dominions. It is evident therefore, that the ſole Motive of the *Engliſh* Lords declaring they would aſſiſt him, was his ſolemn Promiſe to cauſe his *Charter* to be kept, which till then had been much neglected. 1106. *Remarks on the King's Speech.*

Henry laid hold of the Declaration the *Engliſh* had juſt made in his Favour, to get from them a Grant of freſh Subſidies, by the means of which he made a conſiderable Addition to his Troops. As ſoon as the Seaſon permitted, he ſet ſail with a numerous Fleet, in order to complete the Conqueſt of *Normandy*. He opened the Campaign with the Siege of *Tinchebray*, where the Earl of *Mortaigne*, who had ſided with the Duke, had brought a ſtrong Reinforcement. As this Place was of great Strength, and well provided with Neceſſaries, it held out long enough for *Robert* to come to its Relief. Ever ſince the Duke had parted from the King his Brother without being able to prevail with him to come to an Accommodation, he had joined the Earl of *Mortaigne*, and *Robert de Beleſme*, who had led all their Forces to his Aſſiſtance. The King of *France* had alſo ſent him ſome Troops, and ſeveral *Norman* Lords were come over to his Side, as ſoon as they had perceived that *Henry* was not acting ſo much for theirs as for his own Sake. All theſe Succours having enabled the Duke to give his Brother Battle, he marched towards him with that Reſolution. The two Armies were pretty near equal in Number. *Robert* Henry *returns to* Normandy. Ann. Sax. Vital. Fl. Wig.

1107. had more *Foot*, but not so many *Horse* by a good deal as the King. Thus each Side might flatter themselves with the Hopes of Success. However, the Battle which was fought under the Walls of *Tinchebray*, lasted not very long. The *Norman Horse* being put in Disorder at the first Onset, and the *Foot* not being able to maintain the Fight without their Aid, the whole Army was entirely routed, and the *English* had nothing to do but to kill or take Prisoners. The Duke of *Normandy* perceiving there was no possibility of rallying his Troops, and not being able to bear the Thoughts of turning his Back, chose rather to be taken than show the least Signs of Cowardice. *Edgar Atheling*, the Earl of *Mortaigne*, 400 Knights, and ten Thousand Soldiers had the same Fate. As the Battle of *Hastings* had made the *Normans* Masters of *England*, so this which was fought 40 Years after, put the *English* in possession of *Normandy*. Prince *Edgar*, who had often been the Sport of Fortune, was immediately set free, and went and passed the residue of his Days in *England*, where he died of extreme old Age. The Duke of *Normandy*, and Earl of *Mortaigne*, were not so favourably dealt with. The Earl was shut up in the Tower of *London*, and the Duke in *Cardiffe-Castle* in *Wales*, where he remain'd a Prisoner to his Death, which was not till 26 Years after. Some say, that this unfortunate Prince having attempted to make an Escape, *Henry* order'd his Sight to be taken away by having a burning-hot Brass Bason held before his Eyes (*a*). But the silence of most of the best Historians in this Point, render the Fact something improbable. I say, not this to excuse the Hard-heartedness of the King, who ought to have call'd to Mind the Generosity of *Robert* to him, during the Siege of St. *Michael's Mount*, tho' he had forgot he was his Brother. In vain does an Historian endeavour to justify him, by taking notice, that *Robert* had never lov'd him during their younger Years, and had done him many Injuries. Such a Reason as this

Battle of Tinchebray, *where* Robert *is taken Prisoner,*

Sax. Ann

and shut up in Cardiffe Castle Mezeray.

Malm.

(*a*) Hence the *Italian* Word, *Abacinare*, to blind, *Menage, Orig. de la lang. Ital.*

this will ſcarce ſerve the Purpoſe the Author alledges it for. 1107.

The Victory of *Tinchebray* having made the King Maſter of all *Normandy*, he return'd in Triumph to *England*. Upon his Arrival, his firſt Care was to make ſome Regulations for his Court, where for a long while ſeveral Abuſes had crept in which called for a Reformation. In the former Reign, when the King took a Progreſs, thoſe who followed the Court, committed all manner of Outrages in the Places where they lodged. They ſhamefully extorted what they pleaſed from their Hoſts, and made Attempts on the Chaſtity of the Women, without any one's daring to contradict them. Coyners of falſe Money were grown very numerous and bare-faced, being ſure of the Protection of the *Great*, who ſet them at work in their Houſes, where no Body durſt ſearch for them. Theſe diſorderly Doings not having ceaſed upon the King's Edict in the beginning of his Reign, he publiſhed a ſecond with ſtill greater Penalties. This was a neceſſary Piece of Severity in order to check the Licentiouſneſs ſpread over the Kingdom, by the connivance Offences of this Nature had hitherto met with. Henry *becomes Maſter of all* Normandy. Paris. Eadm.

Before the War in *Normandy*, *Henry* had poſitively aſſured his Subjects, he would govern them according to Equity, and maintain them in their Privileges. But Proſperity made him quite forget his Promiſes. Immediately after his Return, it was obſerved, he was become more haughty and leſs popular than he was before. He treated the Nobles with an intollerable Arrogance, even to the making uſe when ſpeaking to them, of very abuſive Language. Beſides he gave himſelf but little Trouble about his own *Charter*, nor corrected any Abuſes that turned to his Profit. He had no regard for any Body but *Anſelm*. The Trouble that Prelate had given him, made him look upon all occaſions of quarrelling with him as ſo many dangerous Quick-ſands, which he was reſolved to avoid. But his Precautions ſerved only to render *Anſelm* more haughty and imperious than he was before their Conteſts. The Archbiſhop finding the King out of fear of enga- 1108. *He becomes more haughty towards his Subjects.*

1108. ging in fresh Disputes, refrained from medling with *Ecclesiastical* Affairs, took this Opportunity to prosecute, with the utmost Rigour, the Priests who obstinately persisted in keeping their Wives. His Disgrace and long Absence had made them hope, they should at length be freed from his Persecutions. But he quickly let them see, that when once he had begun a Thing, he did not do it by halves. Some Time after his Return, he called a *Synod*, where at his Instance, severe Penalties were decreed against all Clergymen, who lived on in a State of Marriage. There were some that were actually deprived of their *Livings*. But so far was this Rigour from having any good Effect, that it only proved the occasion of the *Clergy*'s committing real Crimes, instead of the pretended Disorders of a Matrimonial State.

The King of France *has a Design upon* Henry. Eadm. Vital. Hunting.

The King did not much concern himself in this Regulation of the *Synod*'s. 'Twas a Thing indifferent to him, whether the *Clergy* married or lived single. And therefore he left the Archbishop to act as he pleased, without intermedling in the Matter. He was like to have another Affair upon his Hands, which much better deserved his Attention. *Lewis the Fat*, King of *France*, who had just succeeded his Father *Philip*, looking upon *Henry* as a very formidable Neighbour since his becoming Master of *Normandy*, was in quest of the means how to lower his over-grown Power. To this Purpose, he designed to make use of as his Instrument, *William* sirnamed *Crito*, Son to *Robert*, a young Prince of great Hopes, but under Age. How careful soever he might be to conceal his Intentions, *Henry* having had notice of them, went suddenly over to *Normandy*, where he ordered his Nephew to be taken into safe Custody, to prevent any Insurrection upon his Account. *Lewis* by this Proceeding perceiving that his Design had taken Air, put off the Execution of it to a better Opportunity. In the mean Time, the young Prince having made his Escape out of Prison, by the means of his Tutor, was carried to *Paris*, and other Courts, where he in vain sollicited for Aid and Assistance to recover the Duke his Father's Dominions.

minions. The neighbouring Princes ſtood too much in Awe of *Henry* to venture upon eſpouſing his Cauſe. As for the *Normans*, tho' many of them were well inclined to the Son of their Sovereign, and ſeveral even contributed privately towards his Maintenance, they durſt not openly declare in his Favour. 1108.

After *Henry* had ſpent the Winter and part of the Summer in *Normandy*, he return'd to *England*, where ſoon after Ambaſſadors came to him from the Emperor *Henry* V, to demand his Daughter *Matilda* in Marriage. He very joyfully receiv'd the Propoſal, and as ſoon as the Terms were agreed upon, the Wedding was celebrated by *Proxy*. As the Princeſs was very young, 'twas not till the Year following that ſhe was ſent to the Emperor her Spouſe with a magnificent Retinue, and a very conſiderable Sum of Money for her Portion. 1109. Matilda Henry's *Daughter married to the Emperor* Henry V.

The neceſſity of his paying his Daughter's Marriage-Portion furniſh'd the King with a Pretence to lay a Tax of three Shillings on every *Hide* of Land. This Tax brought him in an immenſe Sum, if it be true, as ſome pretend to have calculated it, that it was equal then to 824,850*l.* Sterling now. The Cuſtom of raiſing Money for the Marriage-Portions of the King's Daughter was introduc'd by this Prince, and very careſully kept up by his Succeſſors, who found it too beneficial to let it drop. Hence may be ſeen how much Innovations of this Kind, which have the Force of a Law from one ſingle Precedent, are prejudicial to a free People. *Money rais'd to pay her Portion*

Before the Marriage was ſolemniz'd Death had taken out of the World *Anſelm* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, a learned Prelate for that Age, but haughty and bigotted to the laſt Degree. 'Tis very reaſonable to ſuppoſe that his Zeal for the Court of *Rome*, his Firmneſs in the Matter of *Inveſtitures*, and his labouring ſo heartily all his Life, to eſtabliſh the *Celibacy* of the *Clergy* in *England*, gave him a Title to a place in the *Calendar*. As ſoon as *Anſelm* was laid in his Grave, the King ſeiz'd upon the Revenues of the Archbiſhoprick, and kept them in his Hands for five Years. The *Clergy* were in hopes that the Perſecution they had endur'd Anſelm's *Death*.

1169. dur'd whilſt he was alive, would end with his Death; but the Court of *Rome* was no leſs zealous to ſupport what the Archbiſhop had done purely by their Orders. Beſides, the King, who was very unwilling to break with the Pope, ſtrictly enjoin'd what had been eſtabliſh'd. So that the *Clergy* were compell'd to lead in appearance continent Lives, by being debarr'd from marrying. But they made themſelves amends in private for this Reſtraint, by committing the moſt enormous Crimes. At leaſt, this is what the Writers of that Age make no ſcruple to lay to their Charge.

Radm.

1110. *Reſtoration of Learning at* Cambridge. Echard.

The Year 1110 was memorable for the Reſtitution of Learning at *Cambridge*, from whence it had been long baniſh'd. According to the general Opinion, *Edward the Elder* had formerly founded an *Univerſity* there. But the Town had ſuffered ſo much in the *Daniſh* Wars, that the Study of the *Sciences* fell to decay, and never lifted up its Head again till the Time we are ſpeaking of.

1111. Henry *puts the Earl of* Maine *to Death*, Malm. Hunt. Fl. Wig.

The following Year *Henry* croſs'd the Sea in order to ſtop the Progreſs of *Fulk* Earl of *Anjou*, who had drawn in the City of *Conſtance* in *Normandy* to revolt. *Elias* Earl of *Maine*, who had eſpouſed the Intereſt of *Fulk*, having been taken Priſoner in a Battle, was put to Death. *Henry* thought this Inſtance of Severity neceſſary to ſtrike a Dread into the *Normans*, whoſe revolting he was apprehenſive of, well knowing that *France* would be ever ready to back them.

1112. Henry *ſettles a Colony of* Flemings *in* Wales.

Before he went to *Normandy*, *Henry* had admitted into *England* great Numbers of *Flemings*, who by the Inundation of the Sea in their own Country, were compelled to ſeek elſewhere for new Habitations. He planted them at firſt in the waſte Parts of *Yorkſhire* *. But upon the Complaints made to him after his Return, he remov'd them to the Country conquer'd from the *Welſh*, about *Ros* and *Pembroke*. Their Poſterity continue there to this Day, retaining

* They were firſt ſettled in *Northumberland*, and from thence remov'd to *Wales*, ſays *Florence of Worceſter*, An. 1111. The *Flemings-way*, a Work of Theirs, is ſeen in *Pembrokeſhire*, extended through a long Tract of Land.

retaining ſo much of their old Cuſtoms and Language as diſtinguiſhes them plainly from the *Welſh*, and ſhows they are of foreign Extraction. 1112.

Henry had no time to make any long ſtay in *England*. The Year after he was obliged to paſs over into *Normandy*, upon the King of *France*'s ſtirring up a freſh War there, by perſuading the Earl of *Anjou* to take up Arms again. This War gave him ſome Trouble, but he happily ſurmounted all Difficulties. *Lewis* had even the Mortification to ſee the Earl of *Anjou* fall off from his Party, who by that means got the Advantage of marrying his Daughter to Prince *William*, Son to *Henry*. During the King's ſtay in *Normandy*, he had the Satisfaction of having his moſt inveterate Enemy *Robert de Beleſme* fall into his Hands, who was ſent into *England*, and detained in Priſon all his Life. Theſe Troubles being over, *Henry* returned to *England*, where he lived in Peace during the five following Years, no one giving him any Diſturbance except the *Welſh*, who now and then made ſome Incurſions. 1113. *He goes again into* Normandy, *and marries his Daughter to the Earl of* Anjou. Vital. Malm.

During this Calm, the Pope and Clergy prevailed at length upon him to permit the *Vacancies* in the Church to be filled, particularly the *See* of *Canterbury*, the Revenues of which he had now enjoyed five Years. As ſoon as he had given his Conſent, a *Synod* was convened, where *Ralph* Biſhop of *Rocheſter* was unanimouſly choſen Archbiſhop, to the great Satisfaction of the People, by whom he was mightily eſteemed. *Thurſtan*, one of the King's Chaplains, was nominated to the *See* of *York*. At the ſame time all other Vacancies were filled up, but with ſuch partiality to the *Normans*, as gave the *Engliſh* juſt cauſe to complain. 1114. *He fills up the Vacancies in the Church.*

The *Welſh* growing more and more troubleſome on the Frontiers, *Henry* determined not to chaſtiſe them only, but to root them out entirely. Purſuant to this barbarous Reſolution, he entered *Wales* with a numerous Army, which he divided into three Bodies, in order to ſurround them on all ſides. But upon his Approach, they having retired to their Mountains, 'twas not poſſible for him to Henry *invades the* Welſh.

1114. come at them. However he was bent to confine them there a long time. But at length finding there was no drawing them from their Retreat, he consented to make Peace. As soon as he was return'd to *London*, he receiv'd News of his Daughter *Matilda*'s Marriage being consummated, and of her Coronation at *Mentz*.

1115. *The* Normans *take the Oath to Prince* William; Ann. Sax. Malm. *and likewise the* English- 1116. Shortly after, *Henry* went over to *Normandy*, where he got the *States* to swear *Fealty* to Prince *William* his Son, who was then 12 Years of Age. The Year following, he did the same in *England* in order to secure the Crown to his Family. To this End he summon'd a general Assembly at *Salisbury*, where all that were present promis'd to acknowledge Prince *William* for their Sovereign after the Death of the King his Father, and accordingly took their Oath to him. From this Assembly it is that some pretend to derive the Original of the Right of the *Commons* sitting in *Parliament*. They maintain, that in Imitation of what was practis'd in *Normandy*, *Henry* summon'd the *Commons* as well as the *Nobility* and *Clergy*, and that this was the first time that the *Representatives* of the People were admitted to sit in *Parliament* *. Others affirm, the *general Assemblies* of the Nation had been disused before this. In fine, there are who assure us this Assembly was the first that was stil'd a *Parliament*. Of these three Opinions the first can never be prov'd, the second is evidently false, and the third very uncertain.

Echard.

1117. Henry *is reveng'd on* Lewis *for creating him Troubles.* Ever since *Lewis the Fat* came to the Crown of *France* he had never ceas'd creating *Henry* Trouble, either by countenancing the Male-contents in *Normandy*, or by stirring up the neighbouring Princes against him. Altho' he generally took care to act underhand, yet *Henry* was not

* *Malmsbury* says, "All the Freemen of *England* and *Normandy*, of whatsoever Order or Dignity, or to what Lord soever they were *Vassals* or Tenants, were made to do *Homage* and swear *Fealty* to *William*, the Son of King *Henry* and Queen *Matilda*". But this is nothing like a *Parliament*. *Polydore Virgil*, and from him *Stow* and *Speed*'s Chronicle commence the Beginning of our *Parliaments* from this Assembly, but without citing the least Authority for it.

not ignorant of his being at the bottom of all the Intrigues of his petty Enemies, and therefore to be even with him he resolv'd to serve him in his own Kind. *Theobald* Earl of *Blois*, his Nephew, Son to his Sister *Adela*, being disgusted at the King of *France*, *Henry* stirr'd him up to a Revenge, and having perswaded him to take up Arms, lent him a powerful Assistance. *Lewis* on his Part invested *William Crito*, Son to *Robert*, with the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and promis'd to aid him with all his Forces to take possession of it. Back'd with the Assistance of *France* and of *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, the young Prince attempted to wrest *Normandy* out of the Hands of the King his Uncle. *Lewis* acted not under-hand in this Affair, but above-board. He claim'd, as Sovereign Lord of *Normandy*, a Right to dispose of that Dutchy, more especially since it was to the only Son of Duke *Robert*, who was unjustly detain'd in Prison. His Army having been reinforc'd by a considerable Body of Troops brought him by the Earl of *Flanders*, he enter'd *Normandy* with a Design to put *William* in Possession. 1117. Lewis *invests* Crito *with* Normandy. 1118.

As soon as *Henry* was inform'd of his Enemy's Designs, he made great Preparations for the War, of which the *English* were oblig'd to be at the whole Charge. When all Things were ready, he cross'd the Sea, and having join'd Forces with the Duke of *Bretaign* and Earl of *Blois*, he advanc'd towards the Enemy to give them Battle. But *Lewis* not thinking fit to stay his Coming, chose to retire, confounded at his having laid his Measures so ill, and at his Project's being defeated by *Henry*'s Expedition (*b*). Instead of maintaining what he had taken in Hand, he sent Proposals of Peace to *Henry*, which were not accepted but on condition *Gisors* should be deliver'd up, which he had taken. After the signing of the Treaty *Henry* return'd forthwith into *England*, to prevent the Entry of a Legate, Henry *goes to* Normandy. *Makes Peace with* Lewis.

(*b*) The *French* Historians make no mention of this Retreat, or of the Peace that followed it, and confound this War in 1118 with that which was renew'd the same Year after the delivering up *Gisors*.

1118. Matilda *dies.* the Pope had sent without asking him Leave. Queen *Matilda* died some Months after, to the great Grief of all the *English*, as well on the score of her Merit, as because she was descended from the Family of their antient Kings.

Lewis *renews the War,* In the mean Time, the King of *France* had not dropped his first Design. *Henry* having neglected to raze the Walls of *Gisors* according to the Articles of the late Treaty, *Lewis* took Occasion from thence suddenly to invade *Normandy*, and commit there great Ravages. However *Henry* lay still in *England*, and seemed to take no Notice of this Insult. All the World was amazed at his Carelessness. Several even attributed it to his want of Courage. At length one of his Courtiers having taken the Freedom to represent to him, how much he wronged his own Reputation, he answered him, without the least Emotion, that he had learnt of the King his Father, that the best way to vanquish the *French*, was to let their first Heat cool a little. But to show what he did proceeded not from Fear, he soon after passed over into *Normandy* with a powerful Army, and offer'd his Enemy Battle. *Lewis* accepting his Challenge, the two Armies engaged.

and is defeated by Henry. During the Fight, a *French* Cavalier named *Crispin*, attacked in Person the King of *England*, and struck him twice on the Head with such a Force, that altho' the King had a Helmet on, he was all over Blood. However this did not hinder him from continuing the Combat. The sight of his Blood rouzing his Courage, he discharged so furious a Blow at his Adversary, that he tumbled him from his Horse and took him Prisoner. This Action raised such an Emulation among his Troops, that at length, after a sharp Fight, the Enemy was obliged to quit the Field. The Standard of *France* was taken and sent in Triumph to *Roan*. Some time after, the two Kings came to a second Battle, the Success whereof was doubtful, each Side giving out they had the Better. In a word, this War proved a very smart one, and found the two Monarchs full Employment.

1119. *Council of* Rheims. Whilst Acts of Hostilities were continued on both Sides with equal Warmth, *Lewis* endeavoured to take the Advantage

vantage of the Stay Pope *Calixtus* II. then made in *France*, to embroil his Enemy in new Troubles. He was in Hopes that the Pope, who was of the Houſe of *Burgundy*, would be eaſily induced to favour his Deſigns. With this view, tho' without letting him know his Intentions, he prevailed upon him to convene a Council at *Rheims*, to which the *Engliſh* Biſhops were ſummoned. *Henry* miſtruſting nothing, permitted them to be preſent without any Scruple. He only ordered them when they took their Leave, to ſalute the Pope in his Name, to hearken to his *Apoſtolical* Precepts, but to take heed that they brought not back any new Inventions of the Court of *Rome*. The Council conſiſted moſtly of *French* Biſhops, ſome of whom, that were let into the Secret by the King, made heavy Complaints againſt *Henry*. They even propoſed to excommunicate him, for unjuſtly detaining the Perſon and Dominions of the Duke of *Normandy* his Brother, who as one of the *Cruſade*, was under the *Church*'s Protection. This Propoſal would doubtleſs have been approved of by the Majority, had not the Pope, who was unwilling to break with *Henry*, ſhifted it off by taking upon himſelf the exhorting of him to do Juſtice to his Brother. Some time after *Calixtus* came to *Giſors*, where he had a long Conference with the King, whom he gave to underſtand that 'twas the Councils Deſire that *Robert* ſhould be reſtored to his Dominions. *Henry* replied, That he had not taken *Normandy* from his Brother, but from a Pack of diſſolute Fellows, who were ſquandering away the Inheritance of his Anceſtors, which *Robert* had delivered them up. He added, that he had not proceeded upon his own Head, but by the Sollicitations of the Nobility, Clergy, and People of *Normandy*, who had earneſtly beſought him to prevent the utter Ruin of the Churches. He took care to back his Reaſons with magnificent Preſents, which wrought ſo upon the Pope and the Cardinals that attended him, that at their Return they gave out they had never met with a more eloquent Prince. Thus *Calixtus*, throwing up the Intereſts of the impriſoned Duke, uſed his En- 1119.

1119. deavours to strike up a Peace between the two Kings, in which he succeeded the following Year *(a)*.

1120. *Prince William drowned.* As soon as the Peace was concluded, *Henry*, impatient to return to *England*, from whence he had been long absent, embarked at *Barfleur* with a numerous Retinue. *William* his Son, who was then sixteen Years of Age, took with him on board his Ship all the young Nobility, to render his Passage the more agreeable. As he sat out last, he had a mighty mind to overtake the King his Father, and promised the Seamen a Reward if his Ship arrived first. This idle Emulation was in all probability the Cause of the Misfortune that befell him. As the Pilot, in order to get before the King, kept too near the Shore on the Coast of *England*, the Ship touched upon a Rock and split. In the Fright this Accident caused, the Seamen's first Care was to hoist out the Boat, in order to save the Prince, and indeed by their Dilligence they had put him out of Danger. But as he was making off, the Cries of *Matilda* his natural Sister prevailed with him to row back to take her in. His Approach having given several others an Opportunity to leap in, the Boat sunk with its Load, without any possibility of saving the Prince. Of all that stayed in the Ship, there were but very few that saved themselves by swimming. From these it was that the Circumstances of this tragical Accident came to be known. Among the rest that perished in the Waves, were, besides the Prince, one of his natural Brothers called *Richard*, *Matilda* his Sister Countess of *Perch*, *Lucia* the King's Niece, the Earl of *Chester*, and several Lords, whose debauched Lives, as is pretended, but too justly brought down this Judgment on their Heads *.

This

(a) Father *Daniel* says, the Pope threatened *Henry* to excommunicate him, and did so. But the *English* Historians speak in a different Manner of this Interview.

* There perished in this Shipwreck 140 Persons, most of them young Noblemen, besides 50 Mariners, none escaping but a Butcher This was looked upon as a just Judgment by our Historians, for their being polluted with the Sin of *Sodomy*. The loss

This unexpected Accident had such an Effect on the King, that he was never after seen to laugh. However, his extreme Desire to repair his Loss, made him resolve upon marrying *Adelicia* Daughter to *Geoffrey* Earl of *Lovain*. But he had not the Satisfaction he expected from this Marriage, she never proving with Child. 1121. Henry *marries* Adelicia *of* Lovain.

The same Year the *Welsh* made an Incursion into *Cheshire*, under the Conduct of *Gryffin* their King. They burnt several Castles, and committed such Ravages that they drew upon themselves an Invasion from the *English*. *Henry*, at the Head of his Army, over-run Part of their Country. But being desirous one Day of securing a certain Pass, he fell into an Ambush, where he lost abundance of his Men, and was hit himself by an Arrow on his Breast-Plate. This Accident, and the Fear of not being able to end the War so successfully as he expected, having prevented him from proceeding any further, he clapt up a Peace with *Gryffin*. However, he obliged him to give him Hostages, and a Thousand Head of Cattle, to make him amends for the Charges of the War. *War with the* Welsh.

Not long after Death took out of the World *Ralph* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. This Prelate was of an unblameable Life, but so great a Stickler for the Prerogatives of his *See*, that he would not suffer the least Infringment even in things of the smallest Consequence. For Instance, on the solemn Festivals, when the King was wont to wear his Crown, he would not let him put it on himself, pretending that on all Occasions 'twas the Archbishop of *Canterbury*'s Office to do it. The *Metropolitical See* continued vacant till the ensuing Year, when *Corbet* Abbot of St. *Bennet*'s was elected by a Synod at *Winchester*.

Henry

loss of this young Prince was not very unhappy for the *English* Nation, if that be true which *Brompton* relates from *Malmsbury*, (though we can't find it in his History) that he had such an Aversion to the *English*, that he threatned, *if ever he came to be King, he would make them draw the Plough like Oxen.* By this fatal Accident, the Persons, Honours, and Estates of the Heirs of most of the great Men were in *Henry*'s Power; by which means he strengthned his Interest in *England* by marrying their Widows, Daughters and Sisters to his Courtiers and Officers.

1123. Henry *prevents the Revolt of the* Normans. Dunelm. Hunt. Vital.

Henry imagin'd that by making a Peace with the King of *France*, he had remov'd all Occaſions of War beyond Sea, and that none durſt for the future diſpute with him the Poſſeſſion of *Normandy*. Nevertheleſs *Robert de Mellent*, Lord of *Pont-Audemar* created him freſh Troubles, which oblig'd him to paſs over once more to that Dutchy. This Lord, who was in great Credit with the *Normans*, and ſecretly countenanc'd by the King of *France*, had undertaken to reſtore *William Crito* to his Dominions. He had brought his Project to that Forwardneſs, that the Country was juſt going to revolt, if the King had not ſuddenly come thither. On his Arrival he laid Siege to *Pont-Audemer* and took it. After which, he added ſome Works to the Caſtles of *Caen*, *Roan* and *Arques*, and reinforced the Garriſons. Theſe Precautions put a ſtop to the *Normans*, who did not think themſelves able to go on with their Deſign. However, *Robert de Mellent* and the Earl of *Monfort* his Aſſociate, kept the Field with ſome Troops. But being drawn into an Ambuſh, they were both taken Priſoners, and the reſt remain'd in quiet.

1124. Robert de Mellent *taken.*

1125. *The Pope's Legate arrives in* England.

Whilſt the King was in *Normandy*, Cardinal *John de Crême*, the Pope's Legate, came to *England*. The Deſign of his coming was to put the finiſhing Stroke to the Reformation of the pretended great Abuſe of the *Clergy*'s marrying, which they ſtill did, notwithſtanding all the Edeavours to the contrary. The Legate was receiv'd in a very pompous Manner, though the People were not much pleaſed with it, having not been accuſtom'd to ſee *Legates* exerciſing their Authority in the Kingdom. A Synod being conven'd at *London*, he got ſeveral rigorous *Canons* to be paſs'd againſt ſuch Eccleſiaſticks, as perſiſted in keeping their Wives *. Theſe *Canons* however were not capable

* The Legate having ſeverely inveighed againſt the Prieſts marrying, alledging, *'twas a horrid Sin for a Prieſt to riſe from the Side of a* Harlot, *and then to make the Body of Chriſt*; yet the next Night, (having ſaid Maſs that very Day) he himſelf was taken in Bed with a *Whore*. *Huntington*, who was himſelf a Prieſt and the Son of a Prieſt, and living at this very time, (after an Apology for making ſo bold with

pable of putting a Stop to this pretended Licentiouſneſs, 1125.
though the King ſtrictly enjoin'd the Obſervance of them. But *Henry*'s Aim was not ſo much to prevent the *Clergy* from marrying, as to obtain from the Pope by his ſeeming Zeal a Power to put in Execution the Decrees of the Councils on this Article, as he did in the Year 1129. When once he was inveſted with this Authority, he gave the Prieſts leave, without any ſcruple, to keep their Wives, upon Payment of ſo much Money for a Diſpenſation.

1127. Henry *gets* Matilda *acknowledg'd his Heir.*

During the ſix Years the King had been married, he had expected in vain that God would bleſs him with Children by his ſecond Wife. When he found that after ſo long a time there was no Appearance of his having what he deſired, he was quite out of Hopes. However, to ſecure the Succeſſion to his Family, he reſolved upon getting his Daughter *Matilda*, who ſince the Emperor's Death was returned to *England*, acknowledged the preſumptive Heir to the Crown. The Advantage this Princeſs had in being deſcended by the Mother's Side from the antient *Saxon* Kings, endeared her to the *Engliſh*, who were not as yet inured to the *Norman* Yoke. On the other Hand, for want of a Prince of their own Nation, it was the Intereſt of the *Normans* to place on the Throne a Granddaughter of *William the Conqueror*, to whom they were indebted for all their Poſſeſſions in *England*. The Caſe ſtanding thus, the King was in hopes to ſucceed in his Deſign, and to that End aſſembled all the immediate *Vaſſals* of the Crown. Among the *Barons* preſent at this great Council were *Stephen* Earl of *Bulloign*, Nephew to the King, and *David* King of *Scotland*, on account of the *Fiefs* he held in *England*. All the Members of the Aſſembly having conſented to the King's Propoſal, *David* and *Stephen* were the firſt that took the Oath of Allegiance to *Matilda*,

with the Fathers of the Church) is the firſt that gives us this Story at large, and concludes, that *the Thing was too notorious to be denied, neither ought it to be conceal'd.*

1127. *Matilda*, in case the King her Father died without any Male-Issue.

Matilda *married to* Geoffrey Plantagenet.

This Affair being transacted to the King's Satisfaction, he married the Empress to *Geoffrey Plantagenet* Son to *Fulk* Earl of *Anjou*, who had deliver'd up his Dominions to his Son, in order to go and take Possession of the Crown of *Jerusalem*, upon the Death of *Baldwin* II. his Father-in-law. The King in making Choice of Earl *Geoffery* for his Daughter, had consulted his own Interest more than *Matilda*'s Inclinations. This Princess, who was Widow to an Emperor, thinking she debased herself in marrying the Earl of *Anjou*, was with Reluctance brought to consent to it. But the King her Father had used some violence to bring her to a Compliance. As he was in continual Apprehensions that *William Crito* his Nephew would take *Normandy* from him, he thought he could not do better than secure *Geoffrey* in his Interest, that he might be always ready to assist, in case that Dutchy should be attacked.

Hunt. Hoved. Paris.

The Barons are dissatisfied with the Match.

If *Matilda* showed some Reluctance to comply with her Father's Will, the *English* and *Norman* Barons seemed no less dissatisfied with this Alliance. They imagined they ought to have been consulted in an Affair, the Consequence whereof was the giving them a King. Besides, some of them had secretly flattered themselves with the Hopes of one Day mounting the Throne, by marrying the Empress. 'Twas easy to foresee therefore, that the Oath which the King had designed to bind them by, would be of little Force after his Death. But besides, that he imagined none would venture to break it, his dread of the King of *France* and *William Crito* caused him to consider only the present Advantage he should have by the Marriage of his Daughter.

1128. Crito *made Earl of* Flanders.

'Twas not without Reason that he was apprehensive of a League between *Lewis* and *William Crito*. The King of *France* no longer concealing his Design of putting the Young Prince in possession of the Duke his Father's Dominions, had already invested him with the Earldom of *Flanders*, that he might the better enable him to wage War with

with the King his Uncle. To prevent his Enemy's Designs, *Henry* went two ways to work with equal Success. The first was, to carry the War into *France*. The second, to stir up the *Flemings* to revolt against their new Earl, and side with *Theodoric* of *Alsatia*, who pretended a Title to *Flanders*. Pursuant to his Scheme, he enter'd *France* with a powerful Army, whilst, on the other Hand, the Towns in *Flanders* boldly declar'd against his Nephew. *Alost* was the first *William* undertook to reduce to Obedience by a Siege, which lasted long enough to give his Rival time to come to its Relief. *William* having Intelligence of *Theodoric*'s Approach, went to meet him, and having gain'd a compleat Victory over him, return'd to carry on the Siege. The Defeat of the *Land-grave* of *Alsatia* would have put it out of the Power of the Besieged to hold out any longer, if in one of the Sallies *William* had not received a Wound, of which he died in a few Days. This young Prince had a good deal of Courage, and several other good Qualities. But in order to avoid the Misfortunes the Duke his Father had drawn upon his own Head by his Profuseness, he ran into the contrary Extreme. This Failing, join'd to some Acts of Violence he had committed in *Flanders*, and his immoderate Love of Women, gain'd him the Hatred of the *Flemings*, and dispos'd them to listen to the Sollicitations of the King his Uncle. The unlucky Accident of this Prince's sudden Death, and the *English* Army being in *France*, oblig'd *Lewis* to drop his Projects and strike up a Peace with *Henry*. From that time to the Day of his Death the King had no more Quarrels with *France*. Neither do we find in the Residue of his Reign, which lasted six Years longer, but very few Occurrences worth taking Notice of, the principal of which I shall here relate. 1128. *Is slain at the Siege of* Alost.

In the 30th Year of his Reign, being likewise the 30th of the *Century*, *Henry* went over to *Normandy*, where he staid the best Part of a Year. His main Business was to have an Interview with Pope *Innocent* II. whom at length he own'd for the true Pope, though *Anacletus* his Rival was Master of *Rome*. The chief Difficulty in this Affair 1130. Henry *owns* Innocent II. *for Pope.*

1130. was *France*'s having acknowledg'd *Innocent*, and for that very Reason *Henry*'s having an Inclination to side with *Anacletus*. But *Innocent* found the Means to manage him so dexterously, that he got him to own him for Pope, which did not a little turn to his Advantage.

Barons *renew their Oath to* Matilda. *Henry*, when he return'd to *England*, brought along with him his Daughter *Matilda*, who upon some Disgust was parted from the Earl her Husband. Upon his Arrival, he call'd a General Assembly, where the Oath of Fealty to the Empress was renew'd, after which she went back to her Husband, who desir'd her Company.

1132. The Year 1132 was remarkable for the founding of an Episcopal *See* at *Carlisle*, and the burning great Part of *London*. As the Houses were mostly built of Wood, this City was frequently subject to the like Accidents.

1133. *Birth of Prince* Henry. The ensuing Year a new Occasion of Joy quite blotted out the Remembrance of this Misfortune. *Matilda* was brought to Bed of a Prince, nam'd *Henry* after his Grandfather. Immediately after the Birth of this Prince, the King assembled all the great Men, and made them take their Oath again to the Succession, in which the new-born Prince was included. This was the third Time he made them swear: However they kept not their Oath the better for that. *Matilda* had two Sons more, namely, *Geoffry* and *William*, whom I shall have occasion to mention hereafter.

Henry *goes into* Normandy. Towards the latter End of the Summer the King went over for the last time to *Normandy*. The Day he embark'd there was an Eclipse of the Sun, and two Days after a great Earthquake, in which Flames of Fire issued out of the Rifts with great Violence. Some will have these Accidents to be Presages of the King's Death, which however did not happen till two Years after.

Robert *his Brother dies.* *Robert* his elder Brother died before him at the Castle of *Cardiff*, where he had been a Prisoner 26 Years. He was a Prince of great Courage, and for some Time of great Reputation. His easy, careless, and profuse Temper, made him lose twice the Opportunity of acquiring the Crown of *England*, which he had a better Claim to, and perhaps was more deserving

ſerving of than his Brothers. He was ſirnam'd *Courte-hoſe*, either becauſe he wore his Breeches very ſhort, or becauſe his Legs were not long enough in proportion to the reſt of his Body. Some give him the Sirname of *Courteous*, not having underſtood the meaning of the Word *Courte-hoſe*, and becauſe that Name was ſuitable to his generous Temper. He was buried at *Glouceſter* in the *Choir* of the Cathedral, where his Tomb is ſtill to be ſeen *. 1133.

The Death of *Robert* was quickly followed by that of the King his Brother. About the latter End of *Auguſt*, 1135, he was ſeiz'd with a violent Illneſs, which carried him off in ſeven Days. 'Tis ſaid he was the Occaſion of it himſelf, by eating to Exceſs of ſome Lampreys, of which he was a very great Lover. He was then at the Caſtle of *Lyons* near *Roan*, a Place he much delighted in. When he found he was near his End, he ſent for the Earl of *Glouceſter* his natural Son, and earneſtly recommended to him the Concerns of the Empreſs his Siſter, without ſaying a word of the Earl of *Anjou* his Son-in-law, with whom he was diſpleas'd. After this he made his *Will*, wherein he left to his Domeſticks above ſixty Thouſand Pounds Sterling. He order'd his Debts to be punctually paid, and all Arrears due to him to be remitted. He died on the ſecond of *September*, in the 68th Year of his Age, and the 36th of his Reign. His Body was cut in Pieces in order to be embalm'd *1, after the rude Manner of thoſe Days, becauſe he was to be buried in *England*, in the Abbey of *Reading*. 1135. *The Death of Henry.*

We find in this Prince a great Mixture of good and bad Qualities. He was very courageous, and of a great *His Character.*

* He lies in the middle of the Choir, in a wooden Monument. *Huntington* ſays he died for Grief for being forc'd to wear a caſt-off Coat of the King his Brother's.

*1 *Gervaſe of Canterbury* gives us the barbarous Manner of embalming the King's Body. They cut great Gaſhes in his Fleſh with Knives, and then powdering it well with Salt, they wrap'd it up in tann'd Ox-hides to avoid the Stench, which was ſo infectious, that a Man who was hired to open his Head died preſently after.

1135. Capacity, both in *Military* and *Civil* Affairs. His Prudence in the Administration of his Government appear'd chiefly in that during his frequent Journeys to *Normandy*, there never was any Insurrection in *England*, tho' there was no want of Male-contents. He was exceeding regular in his Diet. Never was he known to be guilty of any Excess in eating or drinking, except that one time when it cost him his Life. He was inexorable to all Malefactors, being persuaded that Severity was absolutely necessary to curb the Licentiousness introduc'd in the late Reign. His Education had been of a quite different Nature from that of *William Rufus*: Whereas this last had no *Learning* at all, *Henry* had been brought up to *Letters*, and had made great Progress in his *Studies*. Hence he was call'd *Beau-Clerc*, that is, *the Scholar*, because in those Days none but *Ecclesiasticks* troubled themselves about Books, and Princes least of all others. He retain'd all his Life long a relish for the *Sciences*, which he had imbib'd in his Youth. He had even built a Palace at *Oxford*, where he often retir'd to divert himself with the Conversation of the *Learned*. His handsome Face, his sweet and serene Looks, his free and open Countenance, his affable Manner and agreeable Conversation, prepossess'd at first Sight all the World in his Favour. All these fine Qualities would have gain'd him the Name of an accomplish'd Prince, had they not been sullied with many Faults, among which, Cruelty, Avarice, and an inordinate Love of Women, were the most predominant. The first appear'd from his barbarous Usage of his elder Brother. The second from his exorbitant and too frequent Taxes on the People. The third, from the great Number of Bastards he had by several Mistresses. I shall not stay to remark here his usurping the Crown, because it may be objected that *Robert*'s Claim was not incontestable, by reason of the Diversity of Opinions in that Matter. But for the Injustice he did his Brother, in depriving him of his Dominions, and detaining him Prisoner 26 Years, I think nothing can be alledg'd in his behalf. In order to make amends in some measure for his Misdemeanours,

demeanours, he founded the Epiſcopal *Sees* of *Ely* and *Carliſle*, and the Abbeys of *Reading*, *Hyde*, *Cheſter*, with the *Priory* of *Dunſtable* *. This was the Method of atoning for Offences, much in vogue in thoſe Days, which being eaſily practicable by the *Rich* and *Powerful*, has been all along and ſtill is kept on Foot. The *Charter* this Prince granted the Nation upon his Acceſſion to the Crown, is one of the moſt remarkable Particulars of his Reign, during which *England* enjoyed a prodigious Plenty of all Things. For a Shilling one might buy as much Corn as would ſerve 100 Men a Day; and for a Groat, which was alſo the Price of a Sheep, as much Hay and Oats as 20 Horſes could eat at the ſame Time. 'Tis true indeed, Money was then much ſcarcer than at preſent. 1135.

Henry left only one legitimate Daughter, namely, the Empreſs *Matilda*, and twelve natural Sons. Among whom *Robert* Earl of *Glouceſter* made the greateſt Figure, as well on account of his Perſonal Merit, as for his ſteddy Adherence to the Empreſs his Siſter, as we ſhall ſee in the following Reign. *His Iſſue.*

* Among his other Buildings was a magnificent Palace at *Woodſtock*, to which he adjoin'd a large Park, inclos'd with a Stone Wall, which is affirm'd to be the firſt Park in *England*. Tho' there were afterwards ſo great a Number, that there were computed more in this Kingdom than in all the Chriſtian World beſides.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

4. *The Reign of King* STEPHEN.

1135. STEPHEN.



HENRY imagined he had taken ſuch juſt Meaſures to ſecure the Succeſſion to the Empreſs his Daughter, that he could not believe 'was poſſible for them to fail. The triple Oath, by which he had bound the Lord's Spiritual and Temporal, ſeemed to him a ſufficient Bar to their Ambition. At leaſt, he could not think, that altho' ſome one of them ſhould have ſo little Conſcience as to break thro' ſuch ſolemn Engagement, the others would never be brought to favour his Deſigns. And yet this Tie, which appeared ſo ſtrong, could not hinder thoſe whom he miſtruſted the leaſt, from contriving, even before his Death, how to render all his Precautions of no Effect. We may have obſerved, in the three foregoing Reigns, with what Partiality *Riches*, *Honours*, and *Places*, were beſtow'd upon Foreigners, particularly upon thoſe that were any way related to the Royal Family. Theſe three laſt Kings, by ſhutting out the *Engliſh* from their Favours in order to laviſh them on the *Normans*, were in hopes of being able by that means to ſecure the Crown to their Family.

But

facing p. 382. Vol. 2.



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Vertue Sc.

BRITISH MUSEUM

But it fell out on the contrary, that by heaping Eſtates and Honours on their Relations, inſtead of gaining their Children ſo many Friends, they created them ſo many Rivals. By ſtrengthening the Party of the Foreigners againſt the *Engliſh*, they unwittingly fomented the Ambition of the former, and put it out of the Power of the latter to ſupport the Royal Family, when it ſtood moſt in need of Protection. 1135.

Among thoſe that had ſhared the late King's Favours, *Stephen* Earl of *Bulloign* his Nephew, was the moſt conſiderable. *Adala* his Mother, Daughter to *William the Conqueror*, had brought the Earl of *Blois* her Husband four Sons, of whom *Theobald*, who was the ſecond, ſucceeded his Father, the eldeſt being incapacitated by ſome natural Defects. *Stephen*, the third Son, was ſent into *England* to the King his Uncle. *Henry* the youngeſt, was a Monk in the Monaſtery of *Clugni*. The good Qualities of *Stephen* quickly got him the Eſteem and Affection of the King, who took a Pleaſure in making him Rich and Powerful. He thought he could not do better than to put it in the Power of his Nephews to ſupport his Family. With this view he conferr'd on *Stephen* the Lands that were taken from the Earl of *Mortaign*, and having ſent for *Henry* from the Monaſtery of *Clugni*, made him Abbot of *Glaſſenbury*, and ſome time after Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. The King's Favours having gain'd the two Brothers great Credit and Intereſt in *England*, they form'd ſo ſtrong a Party, that they thought it in their Power to take the Advantage of the Diſaſter that happen'd in the Royal Family by the Death of Prince *William*. 'Tis true, that when the late King was deſirous of ſecuring the Crown to *Matilda*, *Stephen* was the firſt that ſwore Allegiance to her. But beſides that he could not be diſpens'd with in that Matter, 'twas no proper Seaſon to make known his Deſigns. Perhaps he hop'd the King out of his Affection for him, might give him his Daughter. But however this be, his hopes, if it be true that he had entertain'd any, being vaniſh'd by *Matilda*'s Marriage with the Earl of *Anjou*, he turn'd his Thoughts

Stephen, *Nephew to* Henry, *aſpires to the Crown in his Uncle's Life-Time.*

to

1135. to the bringing about his Project. By the means of secret Emissaries, he fomented the Disgust this Match had given the Nobility, and made sure beforehand of the Assistance of those, who were best able to place him on the Throne after the King's Death. He acted however with so much Circumspection, that his Uncle never once suspected his Intentions. On the contrary, a little before his Death he gave him a fresh Mark of his Affection, by marrying him to *Matilda*, only Daughter and Heir to the Earl of *Bulloign*, by which means he became more powerful and in greater Credit than ever.

The first Rise of Roger *Earl of* Salisbury.

As the King's last Sickness appear'd at first very dangerous, *Stephen*, who had attended him into *Normandy*, sent notice of it to the Bishop of *Winchester* his Brother, that he might take Care to renew his Intrigues to procure him the Crown. This Prelate had already brought over the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and *Roger* Bishop of *Salisbury* to his Party, who had both a great Influence over the Clergy. The last was the wealthiest Subject in *England*, having had an Opportunity of amassing vast Riches in the Administration of Affairs *Ecclesiastical* and *Civil*, which the late King had entirely entrusted him with. The occasion of his Rise was something particular. Whilst he was only *Curate* of a Parish in *Normandy*, *Henry*, who had then no Prospect of one Day mounting the Throne, happen'd to come into the Church, where he was *saying Mass*. The great Care wherewith the Priest perform'd the *Service*, pleas'd the King so, that he desir'd to have him for his Chaplain. *Roger* did not want much Intreaty to accept of an Honour, he so little expected. Tho' he had but little of the *Scholar* in him, he was naturally of so pliable a Disposition, and so much a *Courtier*, that he quickly gain'd the good Graces of his Patron, who loaded him with Favours. As soon as he came to the Crown, his first Care was to prefer his Chaplain, by promoting him to the *See* of *Salisbury*. But not stopping there, he committed to him afterwards the Management of all important Affairs in *Church* and *State*, and made him *Prime Minister*. This High Post furnish'd the

the Biſhop with an Opportunity of heaping up immenſe Riches, which he expended not ſo much in Acts of Charity, as in building ſtately Palaces, and in keeping as ſplendid an Equipage almoſt as the King himſelf. 1135.

The Clergy declare for Stephen.

'Twas a great Advantage to *Stephen* to have on his ſide three Prelates, whoſe Intereſt ſecured him the Suffrages of all the Clergy. This Body was then ſo powerful, that ſuch of the Lay-Lords as were not in his Party did not think themſelves in a Condition to oppoſe the Deſign which they ſaw was going forward of placing *Stephen* on the Throne, ſince all the Biſhops declared in his Favour. Not one attempted to ſpeak in *Matilda*'s behalf; ſo great an Influence had the Example and Authority of the *Clergy* over the Minds of the Nobles and People. In the mean time, *Henry* being dead in *Normandy*, *Stephen* forthwith repaired into *England* to back his Pretenſions with his Preſence. Supported as he was, he found no great Difficulty to carry the Prize from an abſent Princeſs, whoſe capricious and haughty Temper had already raiſed a great Prejudice againſt her. If the Nobility had really that Attachment for Religion, which they affected to make a ſhow of, their repeated Oaths to *Matilda* would have been an inſuperable Obſtacle to *Stephen*'s Election. But they were as well skilled then, as at this Day, in the Art of evading the moſt ſolemn Oaths by *Diſtinctions* and *Mental Reſervations*, which render the uſe of an Oath of no Effect. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* affirmed, that the Oath they had bound themſelves by to *Matilda* was null and void, as being directly contrary to the Cuſtoms of the *Engliſh*, who had never ſuffered a Woman to reign over them. The Biſhop of *Salisbury* maintained, that they were diſcharged from their Oath, becauſe *Matilda* was married out of the Realm, without the Conſent of the Barons, whoſe Intent was, when they ſwore Fealty, not to have a King who was not of the Race of *William the Conqueror*. In fine, entirely to remove all Scruples, *Hugh Bigod*, who had been *High Steward* to the late King, ſwore on the Holy Evangeliſts, that before he died, *Henry* had diſinherited *Matilda*, and nominated his Nephew

1135. *Stephen* for his Succeſſor. This was enough to colour over the Diſloyalty of the Barons. On theſe weak Grounds they proceeded to reject *Matilda*'s Right, which they had thrice ſworn to maintain, and to crown *Stephen* the 26th of *December*, 24 Days after *Henry*'s Death. Thus this Princeſs ſaw herſelf deprived of the Crown, by the means of thoſe whom the King her Father thought the moſt firmly engaged to ſtand by her. So true it is, that the Precautions ſuggeſted by *Human Prudence* are very little to be depended upon.

He is crown'd.

He makes large Promiſes to the Barons.

Stephen was then one and thirty Years Old, and in great Eſteem with the Nobility. But his Age and fine Qualities made his Right not one Jot the better. His Title was ſo weak, that to get the Barons to ſupport it, he was forced to promiſe them more Privileges under his Government, than they had enjoyed in the Reigns of the *Norman* Kings his Predeceſſors, and without doubt, more than he ever deſigned to grant. This was the ſole Motive of their proceeding with that Eagerneſs to his Election. They imagined that his being indebted to them for the Crown, would always diſpoſe him to ſhow them Marks of his Gratitude. But they could not expect any ſuch Thing from *Matilda*, who having a clearer Title, would not look upon herſelf as obliged to them on that ſcore. *Stephen* therefore, willing to do any thing for the obtaining a Crown, which might juſtly be diſputed with him, had engaged to reform whatever had been amiſs in the three foregoing Reigns, and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* his Brother, had paſſed his Word for him. This Juncture was too favourable for the Barons of the Realm to let it ſlip without taking the Advantage of it. When they came to give the new King his Oath, they required a great deal more of him than of his Predeceſſors.

He takes an unuſual Oath.

The Import of his Oath was, *That he would within ſuch a Time, fill up the vacant Biſhopricks, and leave the Temporalities in the Hands of ſome Eccleſiaſtick, who was to take Charge of them till the Vacancy was filled. That he would not ſeize the Woods of any Clerk or Layman, upon frivolous*

frivolous Pretences, as his Predeceſſors had done; but would be content with the Foreſts, which had belonged to the two Williams, *and would make Reſtitution of ſuch as* Henry *had uſurped.* Laſtly, *that he would aboliſh* Dane-gelt, *which was inſupportable to the Nation, and having been taken away by King* Edward, *was reſtored by the* Norman *Kings.* The Biſhops on their Part, took an Oath which was no leſs uncommon, ſeeing they ſwore Allegiance no longer than he ſhould continue to maintain the Church in her Privileges. The Lay-Lords acted with the ſame Caution, if we may judge by the Oath of the Earl of *Glouceſter*, natural Son to the late King. He ſwore Fealty to the King, but on Condition he would preſerve his Eſtates and Honours entire, and obſerve the Covenants made with the Barons. *Stephen* promiſed to do all they required of him, and moreover to grant an authentick *Charter* for the Security of the Liberties of the Nation, and the Privileges of the *Church*. 1135. *The Oath of the Biſhops and Barons.*

The Coronation being over, the new King poſted to *Wincheſter*, to take poſſeſſion of the Treaſure *Henry* had laid up there, which amounted to a hundred thouſand Marks, beſides Plate and Jewels. With this Money he levied an Army of *Bretaigns*, *Picards*, *Flemings*, and other Foreigners, whoſe Aſſiſtance he thought he might ſtand in need of, he not having as yet any great Confidence in his own Subjects. At his Return from *Wincheſter*, he went to meet the Corps of the late King, which was bringing from *Normandy*, in order to be interred at *Reading*, according to his own Directions. Stephen *ſeizes the late King's Treaſures.*

Hitherto *Stephen* had met with no Oppoſition. But he plainly foreſaw 'twould not be long firſt before he ſhould. 'Twas very likely *Matilda* and *Geoffrey* her Husband would not fail to attempt the Recovery of a Crown he had taken from them. It was requiſite therefore to endeavour to gain the Good-will of the People; and the moſt proper Means to that End, was to make appear, he really intended to perform his Promiſes. With this view he convened a General Aſſembly at *Oxford*, where he ſigned the *Charter* he had promiſed to grant; the chief Articles of 1136.

1136. which were as follow: In the first Place, "he acknowledges his being elected King, by the Assent of the "Clergy and People. He confirms all the Liberties, Privileges and Immunities of the Church, and consents "that all Ecclesiastical Causes and Persons shall be tried by "the Clergy. He promises not to meddle in any manner "with the Temporalities of vacant Bishopricks, or Estates belonging to the Ecclesiasticks. He abolishes all "the Game-Laws enacted since the *Conquest*, and all the "Forest-Laws. Lastly, to gain entirely the Affections "of the *English*, he revives the antient *Saxon* Laws." This *Charter* was very advantageous for the People, if it had been punctually observed. But, as an Historian remarks, just as the *English* had elected *Stephen* purely for their own Interest, so this Prince granted all they required, rather to amuse them, than to bind himself with Fetters of Parchment. The Truth of this Remark is visible from the Behaviour of the King a few Months after. The Archbishoprick of *Canterbury* becoming vacant by the Death of *Corbet*, the King seized upon the Revenues, and kept them in his Hands above two Years. Neither did he rest there. As the Archbishop died intestate, he seized upon his Effects, pretending it was his Prerogative so to do. 'Tis true, he only followed the Example of the three former Kings. But supposing he was possessed of that Right, he had promised so positively to give it up, that his Proceeding could not be looked upon but as an express Breach of his *Charter* and Oath.

Malm.

The King seizes the Revenues of the See of Canterbury. Hunt. Paris. Malm.

The Beginning of this Reign was peaceable enough: But the Tranquillity lasted not long. His Subjects, grown insolent, set too high a value on the Service they had done the King. There were even some, who having been constrained to follow the Multitude, were waiting for an Opportunity to wipe off the Stain the Nation had contracted by the Breach of their Oath. The King, who very well knew how Matters stood, did all he could to secure the Affections of the People, whose Assistance he foresaw he should soon want. With this view it

was

was that he conferr'd *Titles* and *Honours* on ſeveral Perſons, and alienated abundance of the Crown-Lands, to ſuch as might be ſerviceable to him. In the mean Time, his Bounty had not the Effect he propoſed to himſelf. Thoſe that partook of his Favours, look'd upon them as their due Reward; whilſt others that were neglected, grew diſtguſted at it, which in the end prov'd very fatal to him. But his greateſt overſight was the ſuffering the Barons to fortify their Caſtles, by which means he put it in their Power to revolt whenever they pleaſed. In a little Time, there were above a Thouſand fortified Caſtles in divers Parts of the Kingdom. 1136.

The Inſolence of *Baldwin de Redvers* Earl of *Devonſhire*, quickly made *Stephen* ſenſible of his Error in that Particular. The Earl taking it as an Affront, that the King ſhould deny him ſome Favour he had ask'd, boldly declared he would obey him no longer. Purſuant to this Reſolution, he fortified his Caſtle at *Exeter*, where he acted as Sovereign, exerciſing a tyrannical Power over All that were under him. This Revolt was ſo much the more dangerous, as the *Welſh* at the ſame Time made an Irruption into the Frontiers, from whence they carried off a great Booty. The King, judging *Baldwin*'s Affair to be of greater Conſequence than the Inroads of the *Welſh*, went and laid Siege to *Exeter*, which took him up a conſiderable Time. At length becoming Maſter of the Place, he purſued the Rebel to the *Iſle of Wight*, and compelling him to fly from thence, baniſh'd him the Realm; but pardon'd all the reſt that had a Hand in the Revolt. This Act of Grace proved very prejudicial to him, as it ſerv'd to render the diſcontented Party the more bold and daring. 1137. *Earl of* Devonſhire *revolts.* *Incurſion of the* Welſh. *The Earl baniſhed.*

The *Welſh* War ended not ſo ſucceſsfully. In a Battle fought near *Cardigan*, the King's Troops were ſo roughly handled, that very few eſcap'd. 'Tis ſaid the *Engliſh* Soldiers were ſtruck with ſuch a pannick Fear, that they ſuffered themſelves to be taken Priſoners by the very Women. *The* Engliſh *defeated by the* Welſh.

Whilſt

1137. *The King of* Scotland *invades the* North.

Whilſt theſe Things were tranſacting in *Wales*, *David* King of *Scotland* made an Incurſion into the northern *Counties* of *England*, under the Pretence of revenging the Wrong done to the Empreſs his Niece. He immediately became Maſter of *Carliſle* and *Newcaſtle*, and puſhing on his Conqueſts, he advanc'd as far as *Durham*. As ſoon as *Stephen* could clear his Hands of the *Welſh*, he march'd into the *North* to repel the King of *Scotland*. The Particulars of this War, of little Moment in themſelves, are variouſly related by the Hiſtorians of the two Nations, who agree in nothing but the Concluſion of it. They unanimouſly tell us, it ended in a Treaty of Peace, whereby the King of *Scotland* was to have *Carliſle*, and Prince *Henry* his Son the Earldom of *Huntington*, for which he did Homage to the King of *England*. The reaſon of the Son's being inveſted, was, becauſe the Father refuſed to accept it on that Condition, alledging he had ſworn to acknowledge no other Sovereign in *England* but *Matilda*, in caſe King *Henry* died without Iſſue-Male.

The King taken ill; the Conſequences of it.

Stephen was no ſooner returned from his northern Expedition, but he fell into a Lethargy, which every one thought would quickly carry him off. They were ſo poſſeſs'd with this Notion, that it cauſed in *England* as well as in *Normandy* ſuch Troubles as were not eaſily allay'd. The King's Friends were diſhearten'd, and *Matilda*'s Party gained Ground conſiderably by the Rumour that was ſpread of the King's having reſigned his laſt Breath. On the other Hand, the *Welſh* looking upon this as a favourable Juncture, reviv'd the War, whilſt in the mean time the Earl of *Anjou* enter'd *Normandy*, in order to take Poſſeſſion of that Part of the King his Father-in-law's Inheritance. But for what Reaſon I know not, this Prince was become ſo odious to the *Normans*, that on Purpoſe to avoid being under him, they call'd in *Theobald* Earl of *Blois*, *Stephen*'s elder Brother. *Theobald*, taking them whilſt they were in this Mind, came to *Liſieux*, where the Earl of *Glouceſter* delivered him the Keys of *Falaiſe*. This Earl remembring the laſt Commands of the King his Father in behalf of *Matilda*, had with great Reluctancy taken

ken his Oath to *Stephen*. But as 'twas not in his Power to ſupport the Empreſs's Right alone, he thought it the wiſeſt Courſe to diſſemble the Matter, whilſt he waited for a favourable Opportunity to declare in her Favour. He fancied he had got one by introducing the Earl of *Blois* into *Normandy*, imagining that this Prince, who look'd with an Eye of Envy on his Brother's Greatneſs, would raiſe ſuch Troubles there, as might turn to *Matilda*'s Advantage. 1137.

Stephen recovers, and drives his Brother out of Normandy.

In the mean time *Stephen* being perfectly recover'd, found his Affairs in the utmoſt Confuſion. The great Men, who had depended upon the King's dying, were already enter'd into ſeveral Factions, from whence he foreſaw 'twould be difficult to diſengage them. *Theobald* his Brother, creating him the moſt Uneaſineſs, he reſolv'd to attack him in the firſt Place, before he ſhould make an Alliance with the King of *France*, who alone was capable of ſupporting him. To this End he went into *Normandy*, carrying with him large Sums of Money, with which he prevail'd upon the chief Men of the Country to abandon the Earl of *Blois*. This Turn ought not to have ſurpriz'd the Earl, ſince the *Normans* had not call'd him in but on Suppoſition that *Stephen* was dead or dying, and to avoid being ſubject to the Earl of *Anjou*.

He makes an Alliance with France.

'Twas very lucky for *Stephen*, that the *Normans* had thus deſerted the Earl of *Blois*. But to compleat the Matter and cut off all his Hopes entirely, he expended Part of his Money in gaining the *French* King to his Intereſts. Having ſucceeded to his Wiſh, he entered into an offenſive League with *France*, which put it out of the Power of his Enemies to hurt him. However, as *Lewis* could not without ſome Uneaſineſs ſee *England* and *Normandy* in Poſſeſſion of the ſame Perſon, *Stephen* deliver'd up the latter to *Euſtace* Earl of *Boulloign* his eldeſt Son, who did Homage to the King of *France* for it. *Theobald* finding he was not ſtrong enough to ſtand againſt the two Monarchs, thought beſt to retire. However, he ſent word to the King his Brother, that although he was forc'd to give way, yet he dropp'd not his Pretenſions as eldeſt, both to *Normandy*

Gives Normandy *to his Son.*

and

1137. *and makes up Matters with his Brother, and with the Earl of* Anjou.

and *England*. But his Actions ill agreed with this haughty Message. Quickly after he renounced his pretended Right for a Pension of 2000 Marks a Year.

The Union of the two Kings had the same Effect with regard to the Earl of *Anjou*, whose Claim as Husband to *Matilda*, was much stronger. 'Tis true, he made some Attempts upon *Normandy*. But after he had tried in vain to gain it by Force of Arms, he was fain to accept of as a Favour, a Pension of five Thousand Marks.

1138. *King of* Scotland *attacks* England.

Matters being thus settled in *Normandy*, *Stephen* was in hopes of enjoying some Repose in *England*, when Intelligence was brought him that the King of *Scotland* had made an Irruption into *Northumberland*. 'Twas even insinuated that he had reason to fear he was invited by the *English* Barons to support the Empress's Right; which Insinuation was but too well grounded. Whilst *David* waa ravaging the *northern* Borders, some *English* Lords had seiz'd upon *Bedford*, and in all appearance design'd not to stop there. Upon News of this, *Stephen* forthwith pass'd over into *England*; and tho' it was in the midst of Winter, he went and laid Siege to *Bedford*, and never quitted it till he was Master of the Place. After which, he marched into *Scotland*, whither *David* had retreated.

A general Revolt in England.

Whilst he was taken up in revenging on the *Scots*, the Mischiefs they had done the *English* he was called Home by an Insurrection of almost all the Barons. This News surprized him, tho' one would think he should not wonder at the Barons breaking their Oath, since he himself had done the same Thing with regard to *Matilda*. The Malecontents complained that he had broke his Promises in many Particulars relating as well to the People as to the Church. But this Pretence was only made use of as a Cloak for their private Resentments. The true Reason of their Disgust was, their not being rewarded in the Manner they expected. Ever since his Accession to the Crown, they had continually teazed him with their Requests, though he had endeavoured one while by Arguments, another while by Promises, and very often by actual Grants, to satisfy the most importunate. But all would not do to secure

Chron. *of* Gervase. Dunelm. Malm.

their

their Allegiance, which was wholly grounded upon the Hopes they had All entertained of having the ſame Honours, the ſame Eſtates, the ſame Poſts, which was a thing impoſſible. 1138.

At the Head of the Revolters was *Robert* Earl of *Glouceſter*, who had artfully laid hold on this Juncture, to form a Party in favour of the Empreſs his Siſter, ſtrong enough to place her on the Throne. He is ſaid to embark in this Enterprize at the Inſtances of certain Monks, who repreſented to him how much he hazarded his Salvation in obeying an Uſurper, contrary to the Oath he had ſworn to *Matilda*. Hence it is evident, the Monks were deep in the Plot, and that the Earl of *Glouceſter* in all likelihood, was not the only Perſon they had made the like Remonſtrances to. Some Hiſtorians add, that the Earl acted on this Occaſion out of a Motive of Revenge for the King's having endeavoured to poiſon him. But if it be true that *Stephen* had any ſuch Deſign, in all probability 'twas not till after the Earl had taken up Arms againſt him. Be this as it will, as ſoon as *Robert* found he was ſufficiently back'd, he went to the Empreſs and informed her of what he had done in her Behalf. After this he wrote an abuſive Letter to *Stephen* himſelf, wherein he upbraided him for the Breach of his Oath to *Matilda*, and charged him with having drawn him in to be partaker of the ſame Crime. To this Letter he added a *Manifeſto*, wherein he treated *Stephen* as an Uſurper, and declared War againſt him. The King returned him no Anſwer, but confiſcated all his great Eſtate in *England*.

The Earl of Glouceſter *Head of the Revolters.*

He writes an abuſive Letter to the King, and publiſhes a Manifeſto.

In the mean Time *Matilda*'s Party daily growing ſtronger by the Acceſſion of the moſt Powerful among the Barons, the Earl of *Glouceſter* came into *England*, and got Poſſeſſion of *Briſtol*. At the ſame Time other Lords ſeized upon ſeveral Caſtles that the former Kings had cauſed to be fortify'd for the Security of the Crown, but on this Occaſion greatly endangered it. *Stephen* finding himſelf thus compell'd to wage War with his own Subjects, retook and razed ſeveral of theſe Caſtles. Tho' he had great Reaſon to be daunted at this ſo general a Defection, yet he ſupported himſelf with his Army of Foreigners, ſhowing on all Occaſions

He gets Poſſeſſion of Briſtol.

1138. casions Marks of an extraordinary Courage, and a steddy Resolution to lose his Life with his Crown. He could not enough admire, that the very Persons who had shown the most Zeal to place him on the Throne, should be the first to pull him down *. As one is always inclined to flatter one's Self, he could not see any Thing in his Conduct that had deserved this Return, and therefore ascribed the Revolt wholly to the Caprice and Fickleness of the Barons. Nevertheless their Complaints were not entirely without Grounds. Besides that the King had not punctually kept to his *Charter*, the extraordinary Favours he had bestowed on Foreigners, particularly on *William* of *Ipre* his Favourite, gave his Subjects a plausible Handle enough to complain. The Severity he had used upon the breaking out of the Rebellion, in seizing upon the Persons and Estates of some of the Barons on slight Suspicions, added fresh Fuel to the Fire that was already too much kindled. In fine, the Dissentions grew to that Height by mutual Reproaches and Acts of Hostilities daily committed, that the Male-Contents sent *Matilda* Word, that they were ready to own her for their Sovereign, according to the Promise they had made to the King her Father.

Matilda *invited over.*

The King of Scotland *breaks the Peace.* Hoved. Hunt. Paris.

The King of *Scotland* fomented these Commotions in behalf of the Empress his Niece, tho' he was also Uncle to *Stephen*'s Queen (*a*). When he found Matters were ripe, he entered *Northumberland* once more, and ravaged in a terrible Manner that County, which generally felt all the Effects of the Quarrels between *England* and *Scotland*. *Stephen* not being able then to leave the Heart of the Kingdom in order to go to the Assistance of the *North*, *Thurstan* Archbishop of *York* undertook to oppose this Invasion. He called together the Barons and Gentlemen of the northern

* Upon the first News of the Barons rising, 'tis reported he should say, *Since they have chosen me their King, why do they now forsake me? By the Birth of God,* (his usual Oath) *I will never be call'd an* abdicated *King.* Malm. p. 102.

(*a*) *Mary* of *Scotland*, Sister to the Empress's Mother, married *Eustace* Earl of *Bulloign*, by whom she had *Matilda*, Wife to *Stephen*.

northern Parts, and repreſented to them, that in this Emergency, they were to depend upon themſelves, it not being in the King's Power to ſend them any Succours. Which Conſideration having the Effect he expected, they unanimouſly engaged to exert their utmoſt to repulſe the Enemy. Quickly after, each appearing with his Troops at the general Rendezvous, they all ranged themſelves under the Command of *Walter de Speck* and *William of Albemarle*, and advanced as far as *Alverton*. Having reſolved to expect the Enemy in that Place, they ſet up a *Maſt*, on the Top of which they put *conſecrated Hoſts*, and ſome Banners of the *Saints*, that they might rally there in Caſe of Neceſſity. Hence this War was called *the War of the Standard*. *Aibred* Abbot of *Rieval* has given a particular Deſcription of the Battle; but as it ſeems to me of little Moment, I ſhall only relate the Succeſs. The *Scots*, much ſuperior in Numbers, having attacked the *Engliſh* in their Intrenchments, were repulſed with the loſs of twelve Thouſand Men. Tho' the King of *Scotland* and *Henry* his Son gave on this Occaſion ſurpriſing Proofs of their Valour, they could not prevent their Army from being entirely routed. 'Tis ſaid that the Archbiſhop's Harangue to the *Engliſh*, wherein he promiſed *Heaven* to all ſuch as were ſlain in Battle, did not a little contribute to the Succeſs of that Day.

1138.

The War of the Standard.

The Scots *are defeated.*

Whilſt Matters were carried thus proſperouſly in the North, *Stephen* ſpread the Terror of his Arms in the Heart of the Kingdom. The Male-contents not daring to keep the Field, gave him Time to reduce their Caſtles one after another without Oppoſition. Theſe Conqueſts join'd to his Victory over the King of *Scotland*, aſtoniſh'd the Earl of *Glouceſter*. He had been in hopes the War would have had quite another Iſſue. But when he ſaw that his Party daily diminiſhed, he had no other Courſe to take but to go and ſollicite the Empreſs to come into *England*, that ſhe might by her Preſence put new Life into her Friends.

Stephen *reduces the Barons to Obedience.*

The Retreat of the Earl of *Glouceſter*, and the Flight of ſome other Lords of his Party, having procured the King ſome Reſpite, he reſolved upon puſhing on the *Scotch* War,

He marches into Scotland.

1138. War, which had been so successfully begun. With this Design he advanced towards the *North*, and in his way took the Castle of *Leeds*, after which he continued his March towards *Scotland*, where *David* had retired after his Defeat. His Intent was to give the *Scotch* King Battle. But as *David* was unwilling to run any Hazard in his own Country, he carefully avoided all Opportunities of Fighting. However, being apprehensive he might at length be compelled to it, he resolved to sue for Peace. At any other Time, *Stephen* would have made him pay dear for it, but at that Juncture he did not think proper to stand off. The Truth is, the Advantages he could propose to get by that War were not to be put in the Balance against the Evils his Absence might occasion: And therefore he struck up a Peace with *David*, whereby Prince *Henry* of *Scotland* was put in possession of the County of *Northumberland*, and Earldom of *Huntingdon*. In return for these advantageous Articles, *David* bound himself by Oath never to concern himself any more in the Quarrel between *Stephen* and the Empress.

Makes Peace with David.

The War being thus ended, the King returned Home, attended by the Prince of *Scotland*, who by his noble and generous Carriage, had so won the Heart of *Stephen*, that he loved him no less than if he had been his own Son. The King's Caresses to the young Prince stirred up the Jealousy of the Earl of *Chester* and some other Lords, who under the Pretence that the King had placed him above them at his Table, retired from Court. But supposing *Henry*'s Birth had not required that distinction, yet his Merit deserved that the King should pay him a very particular Respect, since all Historians unanimously give him the Character of an accomplished Prince. *Stephen* continued therefore, notwithstanding the Envy of the *English*, to show him Marks of his Affection, particularly in a Case, which demonstrated him to be sincere. This young Prince, who had accompanied the King to the Siege of *Ludlow*, having approached too near the Walls, was like to have been taken from off his Horse by the Means of an Iron Hook at the end of a Rope, if *Stephen* had not, with the Hazard of his

His Affection for the Prince of Scotland, *raises the Jealousy of the* Engl sh *Barons.*

his own Life ran to his Reſcue. An Action which redounded as much to the Honour of the King as of the Prince for whom he teſtified ſo great an Affection. 1138.

This ſame Year *Alberic* the Pope's Legate in *England* conven'd a Synod, wherein *Theobald* Abbot of *Bec* was elected Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to the great Satisfaction of the *Engliſh*, who had with Regret beheld the *Metropolitan See* vacant for two Years. *Theobald elected Archbiſhop of Canterbury.*

The Peace *Stephen* had juſt made with *Scotland*, and the Advantages he had gain'd over his domeſtick Enemies, procur'd him a Tranquillity which ſeem'd likely to be of long Continuance. And in all appearance it would not have been diſturb'd, if the falſe Step he made in falling out with the Clergy, had not hurl'd him down from the Height of his Grandeur and Glory to the moſt deplorable State a Sovereign could poſſibly be reduced to. The Biſhops had been a great Means of his being plac'd on the Throne. From that Time their Power was grown to that Height, that 'twas no leſs dangerous for the King to make them his Enemies, than it had been beneficial to him to have them his Friends at the Time of his Election. Nevertheleſs, the Jealouſy he had entertain'd at their Power, ſuffer'd him not to conſider with his wonted Prudence what he was going to do, when he took it in his Head to lower their Greatneſs. *Roger* Biſhop of *Salisbury* had two Caſtles as ſtrong as they were ſtately, one at the *Devizes*, and the other at *Sherburn*, and was building a Third at *Malmsbury*. *Alexander* his Nephew, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, had built one at *Newark*, and made no ſcruple to declare openly, that 'twas deſign'd as much for the Security as for the Dignity of his *Church*. *Nigel* Biſhop of *Ely*, another of *Roger*'s Nephews, imitating the State of his Uncle and Couſin, affected a Magnificence in his Retinue and Houſe, that ſtirr'd up the Envy of ſome, and the Indignation of all. When theſe three Prelates came to Court, they were attended with ſo many armed Followers, that it ſeem'd rather as if they deſigned to brave the King, than to pay their Reſpects to him. This proud and pompous Manner of living having procur'd them abundance of Enemies, there were ſome that took an Opportunity 1139. *The King falls out with the Clergy.* *Their great Pride.* *The King grows ſuſpicious of them.*

1139. portunity of whispering in the King's Ear, that he could not be safe as long as the Bishops were so powerful. His Suspicions were further confirm'd by the Rumour that was spread of *Matilda*'s being ready to come into *England*, where she had a strong Party. Though the Bishop of *Salisbury* had a chief Hand in the Election of *Stephen*, yet he fancied he was grown a Favourer of *Matilda*, and in this Belief form'd a Design to humble the Pride of the Bishop and his Nephews. 'Twas not long before an Opportunity offer'd. In a General Assembly held at *Oxford*, the Retainers of the Bishop of *Salisbury* having picked a Quarrel with those of *Alan* of *Bretaign*, Earl of *Richmond*, it fell out that a Knight of the Earl's was killed in the Scuffle, and abundance of People wounded on both Sides. The Bishop's Followers got the better, having been assisted by those of the Bishops of *Ely* and *Lincoln*, and of the *Chancellor*, who pass'd for *Roger*'s Nephew, though in Truth he was his Son. The King, willing to lay hold on this Opportunity to mortify the whole Family, summon'd them all Four to appear at his Court, and answer for this Riot of their Domesticks. This *Summons* was according to Law: But the Satisfaction the King demanded was not so. He was not content with the Mulct enjoin'd by the Law in the like Cases; but insisted upon the Bishops delivering into his Hands all their Castles, as Pledges for their future Allegiance. These Demands seeming too exorbitant to the Prelates, they desir'd to consider of the Matter. Whilst the King was waiting for their Answer, the Bishop of *Ely* absented himself, and retir'd to *Roger* his Uncle's Castle at the *Devizes*. His going off having prevented the adjusting of Matters, the King went immediately and laid Siege to the Castle, where was also *Matilda*, the Wife or Concubine of the Bishop of *Salisbury*. This Place being very strong, the King who foresaw the Siege would prove a difficult Work, bethought himself of an Expedient to put an End to it without loss of Time. He order'd the Bishop of *Sarum* and the *Chancellor* to be led up close to the Wall, and sent word to *Matilda*, that unless she forthwith deliver'd up the Castle, the Chancellor should be hang'd up on

Upon a Quarrel at Oxford, *the King summons them to appear at his Court.*

on the Spot; neither ſhould the Biſhop eat or drink till it was ſurrendered. Theſe Threats having wrought upon her as he expected, ſhe delivered up the Caſtle, wherein he found Forty Thouſand Marks in ready Money. The Biſhop of *Lincoln* procured his Liberty, by ſurrendring to the King his Caſtle of *Sleaford*. Shortly after *Stephen* became Maſter likewiſe of the Caſtles of *Salisbury*, *Malmſbury* and *Sherborn*. With the Money he found in theſe ſtrong Holds, where the Biſhops kept their Treaſures, he purchaſed the Friendſhip of the King of *France*, and entered into an Alliance with him. This *League* was cemented by the Marriage of *Euſtace*, the Son of *Stephen*, with *Conſtantia* Siſter to *Lewis the Young*, who had ſucceeded *Lewis the Fat* his Father.

1139. *He ſeizes their Caſtles.*

Euſtace *his Son married.*

The Severity of the King towards the Biſhops mightily diſguſted the whole Body of the *Clergy*, who made loud Complaints. The Archbiſhop of *Roan*, who was then in *England*, was the only one that was not offended at it. He was perſuaded that, without ſtriking at the Immunities of the *Church*, the King might diſpoſſeſs the Biſhops of their fortified Caſtles, which had nothing to do with their Privileges as Churchmen. But the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who had lately been made *Legate* for *England*, was not of his Opinion. This Prelate harboured in his Breaſt a ſecret Diſguſt againſt the King his Brother for letting him have no Hand in the Adminiſtration of Affairs. He had expected things would be otherwiſe, when he laboured ſo heartily to place him on the Throne. But finding there was no hopes of his having for the future any ſhare in the Government, he eagerly embraced this Opportunity of creating him trouble, under Pretence of ſtanding up for the Rights of the *Church*. With this View he called a Synod at *Wincheſter*, and ſummoned the King to appear and give an Account of his Actions. At the opening of the Synod, he aggravated in a very bitter Manner all that *Stephen* had acted againſt the three Biſhops. He exhorted the Prelates vigorouſly to maintain the Rights of the Epiſcopal Dignity, and the Privileges of the *Church*. After which, he

The Clergy *are diſſatisfied.*

The Biſhop of Wincheſter *undertakes the Cauſe of the* Clergy, *and cites the King before a* Synod.

1139. he proteſted he would put in Execution the Decrees of the Council, tho' it coſt him the Friendſhip of the King, the Loſs of his Eſtate, and even his Life itſelf. *Stephen* had ſent to the Council ſome Lords, with *Alberic de Vere* a famous *Civilian*. As ſoon as the *Legate* had made an End of his Speech, theſe Lords demanded why the King was ſummon'd thither. The *Legate* anſwered, 'Twas to give his Reaſons for having impriſoned the Biſhops, and deſpoiled them of their Eſtates: a Crime, added he, hitherto unheard-of in the Chriſtian World. *Alberic* taking him up, ſaid, that the Prelates had been puniſhed not as Biſhops, but as the King's *Subjects* and *Servants*. The Biſhop of *Salisbury* not reliſhing that Diſtinction, roundly told him, That the Biſhops could not in any reſpect be looked upon as the King's *Servants*. The Majority of the Synod being much of the ſame Opinion, the Archbiſhop of *Roan*, who thought that the *Epiſcopal* Dignity was no ground for an Independent Power, endeavoured to ſet them right as to that Matter. He demanded, Whether they could clearly prove from the *Canons* that Biſhops as ſuch ought to have fortified Caſtles? *But*, added he, *ſuppoſing you could make appear that you may be poſſeſſed of ſtrong Holds without acting contrary to the* Canons *of the Church, yet by what Right can you refuſe to deliver them into the Hands of the King at a time when the Kingdom is threatned with an Invaſion? Is it not the King's Buſineſs to take care of the Safety of the State? And can Subjects refuſe to admit him into their Fortreſſes without incurring the Guilt of Rebellion?* Theſe Arguments not having weight enough with the Biſhops to make them deſiſt, the *Legate* propos'd to excommunicate the King, and ſend Deputies to *Rome* to lay their Caſe before the Pope. Then it was that the Lords ſent by the King thought it time to ſpeak a little more freely. They declar'd, that if the *Synod* went about to excommunicate the King, the Biſhops would ſoon have cauſe to repent of their Proceedings; and in caſe any of them took upon them to go to *Rome* on that ſcore, they would find it no eaſy Matter to return. This Declaration made ſuch an Impreſſion on their Minds, that

Archbiſhop of Roan *pleads for the King.*

The Legate *propoſes to excommunicate the King.*

that they were unwilling to expose themselves to the King's Resentment, in order to gratify the *Legate*. Accordingly the *Synod* having decreed a Deputation to the King to demand a suitable Reparation, broke up after having sat but three Days. Pursuant to this Resolution, the *Legate* and Archbishop of *Canterbury* went to the King, and earnestly besought him to prevent a Rupture between the *Ecclesiastical* and *Civil* Powers. Which was in plain *English* to require him to make ample Satisfaction to the *Clergy*, otherwise a Rupture was unavoidable: for that was the real Meaning of their Words. One can't conceive on what Grounds the *Clergy* at that time laid claim to an Independent Power, unless it was because they were grown so powerful that they imagined the King could not do without them. Formerly, during the Empire of the *Saxons*, the Bishops thought it an Honour to be ranked with the *Thanes*, that is, with *the King's Servants*. After the *Norman Conquest*, *William* I. threw the Bishops into Prison upon bare Suspicion. Some he banished, others he deprived of their Bishopricks, without any one's daring to stir, and the People looked on without concerning themselves in the Matter. But in the Reign of *Stephen*, 'twas an unheard-of Crime to dispossess the Bishops of their Fortresses, and an unpardonable Rashness to stile them the King's Servants. For some time past the *Clergy* had established it as a *Maxim*, that the Main of Religion consisted in upholding the *Church* in all the *Privileges* and *Immunities* she her self had laid claim to.

1139. *Deputation to the King.*

Be this as it will, the People were all in a Combustion upon this Occasion, as if they themselves had been deprived of their *Rights* and *Liberties*. The whole Kingdom swarmed in an Instant with Male-contents, who only wanted a Leader to head them. In fine, the *Clergy*'s Faction was so strong, that the major Part of the Lay-Lords came over to their Side and espoused their Cause. The Empress looking upon this as a favourable Juncture, resolved to lay hold on it and go into *England*, tho' she had not above 140 Men to accompany her. This was a very inconsiderable Troop for the Undertaking she was upon; but she relied on a

The People side with the Clergy. Malm. Vital. Matilda *comes into* England.

1139. powerful Aid from the Male-contents. She took up her first Quarters at the Castle of *Arundel*, which belonged to the Queen *Dowager*, being Part of her *Dowry*. The Earl of *Glouceſter*, who came with his Sister, thinking her safe in a Place where she was received with all the Respect due to her Rank, left her and went to *Briſtol*. In the mean while *Stephen*, who was besieging *Marlborough*, being informed of *Matilda*'s Arrival, suddenly broke up the Siege and marched towards *Arundel*. At the King's Approach the Queen *Dowager* repented of her giving Admittance to *Matilda*, fearing it might Occasion the Loss of her Castle, with all the Privileges she enjoyed in *England*. On the other Hand, Honour and Honesty would not suffer her to deliver her Guest into the Hands of her Enemy. To get herself out of this Perplexity, she sent the King word, that if he persisted in requiring her to deliver up the Empress, she was no less bent on her Side to protect her, till some or other came to her Relief. But at the same Time she desired him to consider, that she had not entertained her as an Enemy to the King, but as his Mother-in-law, Widow to a great Emperor, to whom she could not be off from paying the Respect due to her Quality. That her Intent was not to countenance the Designs she might have against him, but only to prevent any Ill from befalling her whilst she was under her Roof. In fine, she proposed to the King, that *Matilda* might have Leave to retire to some other Place, where 'twould be as easy for him to besiege her as in *Arundel* Castle. That by this Act of Generosity he would lay an Obligation on a Queen, Widow to a great Monarch, his Uncle and Benefactor, without the least Detriment to himself. Whether *Stephen* was sensible that 'twas not in his Power to take the Castle before it might be relieved, or whether he thought himself bound to oblige the Queen so far, he gave his Word that *Matilda* should be safely conducted to *Briſtol*; which was accordingly done. But he had but too much reason to repent afterwards of his having been so generous. *Matilda* having remained at *Briſtol* some time, removed to *Glouceſter*. During her stay in these two Cities, she so artfully

Is beſieg'd by the King in Arundel *Caſtle,*

and conducted ſafely to Briſtol.

artfully managed the Diſcontents of the *Clergy* and *Nobility*, that ſhe gained them both over to her Side, and by their Means, almoſt the whole Body of the People. There ſtuck by the King only a few Barons and his Foreign Army, which though ill paid, ſerved him faithfully. 1139.

I ſhall not take upon me to enter into the Particulars of this Civil War, which like the reſt of that Kind, furniſhes more Inſtances of Treachery and Cruelty, than of glorious Actions. I ſhall content my ſelf with relating only the principal Events. Whilſt it laſted the whole Kingdom was divided, every City, County, and Perſon ſiding with the King or the Empreſs, according as they were led by Paſſion or Intereſt. The Lords, neareſt in Neighbourhood and Blood, fell foul of one another in a cruel Manner, burning the Houſes, and pillaging the Vaſſals of one another, ſo that a terrible Confuſion was quickly ſpread over the Face of the whole Kingdom. In this fatal Anarchy, the Barons, acting as Sovereigns, grievouſly oppreſſed the People, and were ſo preſumptuous as to coin their own Money. On the other Hand, the King and *Matilda* inſtead of redreſſing, connived at theſe Doings, fearing the calling their Friends to an Account would make them change Sides. Moreover, the Foreign Soldiers, of whom *Stephen*'s Army entirely conſiſted, occaſioned ſtill further Diſorders. As the King was not in a Capacity to pay them duly, he was forced to ſuffer them to plunder the poor People, who tho' innocent, felt the greateſt ſhare of the Calamities of a Civil War. 1140. *A Civil War.*

In the mean Time the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, being at length ſenſible of his overſight in raiſing a Storm, which he foreſaw would infallibly overwhelm the King his Brother, turned about on a ſudden. He reflected, that being Brother to *Stephen*, he himſelf would certainly be involved in the ſame Ruin with him, and conſequently 'twas his Intereſt to ſtand by him, and not to help forward his Deſtruction. And therefore, deſirous of regaining the King's Confidence by ſome important Service, he drew to *Wincheſter* a good Number of Lords, Friends to *Matilda*, *The Biſhop of* Winchester *comes over to the King.*

1140. and detained them Prisoners, till such time as they delivered up their Castles to the King.

Stephen's Und undedness.

Amidst all his Straits and Difficulties, *Stephen* showed great Resolution and Firmness of Mind, which did not a little contribute towards keeping stedfast to him a great many, who doubtless would have deserted him had they observed the least Faint-heartedness in him. This is the never-failing Consequence, when on the like Occasions Princes seem to distrust their Fortune or their Abilities. Far from being daunted at the violent Shocks he received, *Stephen* daily made fresh Attempts to remedy by his Valour and Prudence the Evils he suffered by the Revolt of his Subjects. He even hoped to put an End to them at once by laying Siege to *Wallingford*, where *Matilda* and the Earl of *Glocester* were shut up. But meeting with more difficulty than he had imagined, he turned the Siege into a Blockade. He was no sooner retired but the Earl of *Glocester* got out of the Castle and went and seized *Worcester*, whilst the Barons of his Party ravaged the Counties of *Chester* and *Nottingham*.

Matilda retires to Lincoln, where she is besieged, but escapes. Malm. Hunt. Paris.

In the mean time *Matilda*, being too closely pent up in *Wallingford*, found the means to get from thence and retire to *Lincoln*. As soon as the King had Notice of it, he formed the Design of surprising her, well knowing that *Lincoln*, where he had a great many Friends, could not be defended by the few Troops *Matilda* had with her. He would have taken his Rival in that Place, which held out but a few Days, had she not contrived Matters so as to get off, whilst Articles of Capitulation were drawing up. *Stephen* missing his Aim, retired without leaving a Garrison in the Town for fear of weakening his Army. He was hardly gone, before he was informed that the Earl of *Chester*, Son-in-law to the Earl of *Glocester*, was come thither with his Wife and Brother in order to keep their *Christmas*. His great Desire of having these three Persons in his Power, made him march back with such speed that the Earl had but just Time to retire into the Castle, which was immediately invested. However he found the Means to escape and get to the Earl of *Glocester*, in or-

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der to desire him to come to the Relief of the Besieged, who could not hold out long. The Earl of *Glouceſter*, willing to succour his own Daughter, drew all his Troops together, and marched towards *Lincoln* with that Expedition, that he had like to have come upon the King unawares, who never dreamt of his being so near. Having forded the River *Trent*, a Thing the King thought impracticable, he came up on a sudden so close to the Royal Army, that neither Side could avoid coming to a Battle. The two Armies being drawn up, the Fight begun, which for a long Time was fought on both Sides with equal Bravery. But at length the King's *Horse*, consisting of *Flemings* and *Bretaigns*, giving Ground, they were so vigorously press'd, that they could never rally again. The Earl of *Glouceſter* taking hold on this Advantage, thought it better not to pursue the flying *Horse*, who were incapable of doing him any further Damage, but to fall on the King's *Infantry*, who being destitute of the Assistance of the *Cavalry*, took to their Heels also.

1140. *Battle of* Lincoln. *The King's Army is routed.*

In the mean Time *Stephen*, who could not bear the Thoughts of turning his Back, was left almost alone, and on Foot, in the midst of the Field of Battle, assaulted by Multitudes, but defending himself against all their Efforts with an astonishing Valour. If the *Cavalry* had rallied in the mean while, he might have brought himself off, to his immortal Fame: But finding none to back him, he was forced at length to submit, being surrounded on all Sides by the Enemy. However he held out to the last Extremity; for his Battle-Ax being broke by the Force of his Blows, he drew out his Sword, and defended himself for a considerable Time longer, foaming with Rage to see himself thus abandon'd by his Army. At length, after he had perform'd more than could naturally be expected from a single Person in the Condition he was in, his Sword broken in pieces, and little more than the Hilt remaining in his Hand, he was knock'd down on his Knees with a Stone. Whereupon a Knight call'd *William de Kains* ran in, and having seiz'd him by the Helmet presented his Sword to his Throat, threatning to kill him unless

Stephen *taken Prisoner.*

1140. unless he yielded himself Prisoner. Notwithstanding the extreme Danger he was in, he refus'd to surrender himself to any but the Earl of *Gloucester*, who by good luck was hard by. As soon as the Earl had him in his Power, he conducted him to the Empress, who order'd him to be confin'd in the Castle of *Bristol*, where he was ignominiously laid in Irons.

and laid in Irons.

1141. Matilda *makes a great Progress.* Whilst this unfortunate Prince was in this wretched Condition, *Matilda* improv'd the Advantages she had gain'd by her Arms. All *England* deserted the imprison'd King, except *London* and the County of *Kent*, where he had still some Friends left by the Means of the Queen his Spouse, *Eustace* his Son, and *William d' Ipres* his Favourite. The Barons that preserv'd their Allegiance, retir'd to *London*, where they had Interest enough to gain Admittance, and to prevail with the Citizens to enter into a Confederacy with them in favour of the King. *Normandy* soon copied after the Example of *England*. No sooner had the Earl of *Anjou* Intelligence of the King's Imprisonment, but he went thither to get the *Normans* to own *Matilda* for their Sovereign, which he found no hard Matter to do. At the same time, the King of *Scotland* breaking the late Treaty, invaded the northern Counties, under Pretence of assisting the Empress, but in reality to serve his own Interest.

Earl of Anjou *seizes* Normandy. Malm.

The Bishop of Winchester *comes over to* Matilda.

One would think that the Victory at *Lincoln* would have plac'd *Matilda* on the Throne at once. But there was one Obstacle more to get over before she could hope to enjoy the Fruits of her Success; which was, to gain the Bishop of *Winchester* to her Side. This Prelate, who by his *Legantine* Power was at the Head of the Clergy, might possibly set that powerful Body against her, whose Example bore a great Sway with the Nobles and People. She deem'd it necessary therefore to endeavour before all things the bringing him off from the King's Side; and with this view she went to him at *Winchester*. He made some Difficulty at first to hearken to her Proposals. But upon her offering him the disposal of all the Church-Preferments, he threw up the Cause of the King his Brother, and promis'd

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to uſe his Endeavours to gain *Matilda* the Suffrages of the *Clergy*. He even took his Oath to her beforehand: But however with this Limitation, that it ſhould be binding no longer than ſhe kept true to her Promiſes. On the Morrow he receiv'd her with great Pomp in the *Cathedral* Church, where he ſolemnly excommunicated all the King's Friends, and abſolv'd all ſuch as ſhould abandon his Party and come over to the Empreſs. Quickly after the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* took his Oath likewiſe to *Matilda*. But before he did ſo, he was ſo ſcrupulous as to procure the King's Conſent, which he went to ask himſelf of the King in Priſon. 1141.

The Legate *calls a Synod at* Winchester, *who elects* Matilda.

There was nothing further wanting to *Matilda* but the Stamp of publick Authority to complete her being *Queen of England*. But though ſhe was ſure of the Conſent of the Temporal Lords, yet ſhe was apprehenſive of meeting with ſome Oppoſition from the *Clergy*, who in all likelihood would be more ſcrupulous on account of the Oath they had taken to the King. The *Legate* having taken upon him to make this Matter eaſy, call'd a Council at *Wincheſter*, where all the Biſhops and Abbots were preſent, with the Archdeacons as Repreſentatives of the Inferior *Clergy*. The Day before the opening of the Synod, the *Legate* took care to confer in private firſt with the Biſhops, then with the Abbots, and laſtly with the Archdeacons, each of them apart. 'Tis not known what paſs'd at theſe private Conferences, but 'twas plain enough next Day what uſe the *Legate* was willing to make of them. As ſoon as the Council was ſat, he made a long Speech, wherein he endeavoured to make appear that the Male-Adminiſtration, Diſhoneſty and Tyranny of *Stephen* had been the ſole Cauſe of all the Troubles in the Kingdom. He own'd that indeed he himſelf had undertaken for his good Government, when the Neceſſity of Affairs had as it were compell'd the *Engliſh* to place the Crown on his Head. But that he had been entirely diſappointed in his Brother, and was heartily ſorry to find himſelf oblig'd to revoke his Engagement for him. He inſiſted much on his former Oath to *Matilda*, adding 'twas reaſonable

1141. ble to prefer the Orders of the *Almighty*, whose Will it was that Justice should be done the Empress, before the Interest of the nearest Relation. He proceeded to put them in mind that he had done all that lay in his Power to make *Stephen* sensible of his ill Conduct, even to the summoning him before a Synod, but that all his brotherly and kind Admonitions had proved ineffectual. That this Obstinacy was a clear Evidence to the *English*, to what Calamities they would have been exposed under the Government of such a Prince, if it had not pleas'd *divine Providence* to give Sentence against him by suffering him to be imprison'd. In fine, since God's Judgments were now fallen on the Head of the King whom they had elected, they were to atone for their Fault, by restoring the Crown to the Princess, to whom of Right it belong'd. *I have therefore*, continues he, *convened you, by virtue of the Apostolick Power committed unto me, to consult about the Means of appeasing the Troubles of the State. This Affair was debated Yesterday in the Presence of the Majority of the Clergy, who beyond all Dispute have a principal Share* Malm. *in the Election of the Kings. And therefore, after mature Deliberation, we have determined to acknowledge* Matilda, *Daughter to the incomparable King* Henry, *Queen and Sovereign of* England.

The major Part of those that were present and not in the Secret, were extremely surprized at this Speech, and much more to see an Election transacted in private by the *Clergy*, after an unprecedented manner. Nevertheless, every one remaining silent, some being gained over, and others not daring to stir for fear none should back them, their Silence was interpreted for their Approbation. The *Legate* told them further, that he had summoned to the Council the Magistrates of *London*, and that they had promis'd to send their Deputies. Accordingly on the Morrow the Duputies arriv'd. But instead of consenting to what the Council had done, they declar'd they had Orders from the City and Barons that were retir'd thither to petition for the King's Liberty. The *Legate* reply'd, that it became not the *Londoners* to side with the Barons,

Deputies from London *in vain petition the King's Liberty.*

Barons, who had in a cowardly manner deſerted their King in Battle, and were endeavouring to embroil the Kingdom in freſh Troubles. This Anſwer, ſo far from the Point, not being ſatisfactory to the Deputies, they demanded a more direct one; but in vain. The *Legate* did not think fit to re-examine a Thing, which he pretended was already decided. Before the riſing of the *Synod* a Chaplain to *Stephen*'s Queen, offer'd to the Council a Letter, which he delivered to the *Legate*. But becauſe the Prelate, after he had read it to himſelf, would not communicate it to the Aſſembly, the Chaplain bluntly took it out of his Hand, and read it aloud. This Letter, wherein the Queen earneſtly beſought them to ſet the King at Liberty, proving of no Effect, the Council broke up, after having excommunicated all that ſtill adher'd to *Stephen*. 1141. *As does the Queen.*

This Affair being thus ended, the Empreſs had nothing to do but to gain the Conſent of the *Londoners*, in order to her Coronation. To this Purpoſe ſhe was oblig'd to enter into a Negotiation with the City, which laſted ſome time. In the interim, *Matilda* advanc'd as far as *Reading*, where the Governour of *Oxford* came and offer'd her the Keys of his Caſtle, humbly intreating her to honour that City with her Preſence. She readily complied with his Requeſt, and after the Inhabitants of *Oxford*, and the Country round about had ſworn Allegiance to her, ſhe removed to St. *Albans*, where ſhe waited for the Reſolution of the *Londoners*. The City was then overrun with Troubles and Confuſion. Some were for continuing ſtedfaſt to the King, altho' a Priſoner: Others for giving way to the Times, and recognizing *Matilda*. Theſe laſt having prevail'd at length, the Empreſs came to *London*, where ſhe was magnificently receiv'd amidſt the vaſt Numbers of Barons that attended her. The City of *London* having thus declar'd for *Matilda*, ſhe met with no farther Oppoſition; and from that Time they began to prepare for the Ceremony of her Coronation. In the mean while ſhe was every where acknowledg'd as Sovereign. London *declares for* Matilda. Malm. Gervas.

During this Interval, King *Stephen*'s Queen came to the Empreſs in order to try to prevail upon her for ſome Condeſcen- Matilda *treats the Queen ill.*

1141. Condescension towards her Husband. As she had lost all Hopes of ever seeing him on the Throne again, she desir'd nothing more than his Liberty. She promis'd in the name of that unhappy Prince, that content with becoming a private Man, he would renounce the Crown, and to remove all Suspicion, would depart out of the Kingdom, and pass the Residue of his Days in a Monastery. He even offer'd to take his Oath never to return more, and to give Hostages for the Performance of his Promises. But such was the Iniquity of those Times, that there was no Reliance on Words or Oaths, there having been so many fresh Instances how little scrupulous People were in breaking them. Accordingly *Matilda* rejected all these Proposals with great Haughtiness, forbidding the unfortunate Queen ever coming into her Presence again.

Matilda falls out with the Bishop of Winchester,

The Bishop of *Winchester* became also a Suppliant to her in his Turn; but he had as little Reason to be satisfied with her Generosity as the Queen. He imagin'd that the Service he had lately done her highly deserv'd some Return. Accordingly he petition'd for *Eustace* his Nephew some Favour, which was haughtily refus'd him. This was sufficient to stir up the Bishop to a Revenge. He had been in hopes that the new Queen would be guided by his Direction: But he plainly saw, she look'd upon him as her Enemy. His turbulent and revengeful Temper never letting him rest under these Circumstances, he began from that Instant to plot and contrive against *Matilda*, longing with Impatience to convince the ungrateful Princess that it was no less in his Power to pull her down, than it was to set her up. But perhaps he would have found it a difficult Task to bring about his Designs, if the Empress her self had not furnish'd him with the Means by her extreme Pride, which made her regard her Subjects but as so many Slaves. A fatal Piece of Policy, which procur'd her Abundance of Enemies, at a Time when 'twas her Business on the contrary to try to gain the *English* by mild and popular Methods. She drew upon herself chiefly the Hatred of the *Londoners*, by refusing to grant the only Thing they petition'd, and which the

and likewise with the Londoners;

King

King her Father had positively promis'd them, namely, to mitigate the Severity of the *Norman* Laws, and revive those of King *Edward*. This ill-advis'd Princess imagin'd herself so far above all Contradiction, that she forbore not to tread in the Steps of her Predecessors, giving her Subjects all the fair Promises in the World, at least till such time as she was more firmly establish'd in Power. Her haughty Carriage quickly wrought a great Change in the Minds of the *English*. They began to be sensible what a Risk they ran of being unhappy under her Government, unless timely care was taken to prevent the impending Evils. The Bishop of *Winchester* fomented to the utmost of his Power these Discontents, and by his secret Emissaries at *London*, stirr'd up the Citizens to revenge the Contempt *Matilda* had shown for them. His Contrivances were carried so far, that he got them to join in a Plot to seize the Empress's Person. What care soever might be taken to conceal their Design, she had timely notice of it, and went from the City in so great a Hurry and Fright, that she left her Palace and Goods expos'd to the Fury of the Populace. Though the Legate had miss'd his Aim, yet he thought that he had not a little forwarded the Execution of his Project, seeing he had brought the *Londoners* to declare against *Matilda*. Secure of their Assistance, he privately concerted Measures with the Queen his Sister-in-law. After which, he sent Word to *Eustace* to be in a Readiness to march with the *Kentishmen*, promising him he should soon be at the Head of a more considerable Army. Having thus laid his Schemes, and secretly gain'd over to the King's Party several Lords that were disgusted at the Empress, he order'd the Castle of *Wiuchester* and some others that were at his Disposal, to be well-stor'd with Provisions and Arms. 1141.

who lay a Plot to seize her Person.

As all those Things could not be transacted without *Matilda*'s Knowledge, she put herself at the Head of her Troops, attended by the Earl of *Glouceſter* and the King of *Scotland*, who was come into *England* to be present at the Coronation. As soon as she came near *Winchester*, she sent the Bishop word that she had something to communicate

Matilda tries in vain to seize the Legate.

1141. municate to him, and therefore desir'd he would come to her. The Prelate greatly mistrusting she had been inform'd of his Proceedings, easily perceiv'd that this was only an Artifice to ensnare him. Accordingly, instead of going to her, he sent her an ambiguous Answer. At the same time he slipt out of the Town at a Gate on the other Side, and went and drew his Friends together, who only waited his Orders to put themselves in Motion. As all things were in a Readiness, they were quickly up in Arms. The *Kentishmen* having join'd the *Londoners*, *Stephen*'s Queen, *Eustace* his Son, and *William d' Ipre* headed them, and march'd to *Winchester* with the utmost Speed. They had like to have surpriz'd the Empress, who had scarce time to get into the Castle. As the Inhabitants of *Winchester* had appear'd a little too zealous in her Cause, the Bishop out of Revenge set fire to the City, though 'twas the Capital of his Diocese. Twenty Churches were burnt to Ashes, with a *Nunnery*, which bore the Name of St. *Grimbald*.

He draws an Army together.

Burns Winchester.

Matilda *besieged in the Castle.*

The Care the Bishop had taken to store the Castle with all Sorts of Ammunition, render'd the Siege very long and difficult. The Besiegers applied themselves closely to it for two Months, in hopes of putting an End to the War at once, by taking the Heads of the contrary Party. The same Reason oblig'd the Besieged to think of their Safety. When they found there was no Possibility of holding out much longer, they resolv'd upon hewing themselves a Passage with their Swords, and running all Risks to secure the Empress's Person. With this view they issued out in good Order, *Matilda* and the King of *Scotland* marching in the Front, and the Earl of *Gloucester* bringing up the Rear. They were no sooner sallied out, but the King's Troops were close at their Heels, endeavouring by frequent Attacks to retard their March, whilst the Rest of the Army were advancing to surround them. In all these little Skirmishes, the Earl of *Gloucester* vigorously oppos'd the Enemy, and gave signal Marks of his Conduct and Valour. But his Efforts, which indeed were very serviceable to *Matilda*, as they gave her time to

Marches out with her Troops, and is pursued.

get

get off, prov'd fatal to himſelf. As the Empreſs's Danger made him neglect his own Safety, he wou'd march the laſt thro' a narrow Defile, where his Troops being hard preſs'd by the Enemy, he had the Misfortune to be taken Priſoner. *William d' Ipre*, to whoſe Charge he was committed, order'd him to be forthwith conducted to *Rocheſter* in *Kent*, where the King had more Friends than in any other Part of the Kingdom. 1141. *Earl of* Gloceſter *taken Priſoner.*

In the mean Time, *Matilda* making all the Speed poſſible, eſcap'd with a few Followers to the Caſtle of *Lutgerſhall*, and from thence to the *Devizes*. Here it was ſhe repos'd her ſelf a little, thinking ſhe had time enough to get to *Gloceſter*. But when ſhe came to purſue her Journey, ſhe had Intelligence that the Road was lin'd with the King's Soldiers. If we may believe a Hiſtorian, much given to *the Marvellous*, ſhe eſcap'd their Vigilance, by being carried to *Gloceſter* in a Coffin, which it never enter'd into any one's Head to ſearch. Be this as it will, 'tis certain ſhe found the means to avoid this Danger. Brompton.

Whilſt the Empreſs was taken up in contriving the Means how to reſiſt her Enemies, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and the Reſt of the King's Friends were uſing their utmoſt Endeavours to bring off the Earl of *Gloceſter* from his Siſter's Party. But all their Sollicitations, and the Conſideration of the State he was in, cou'd make no Impreſſion upon him. He firmly perſiſted in the Allegiance he had ſworn to her, and wou'd not ſo much as uſe any Diſſimulation in the Matter, which might have gain'd him his Liberty. In fine, after ſix Months Impriſonment, *Matilda*, who had a tender Affection for him, and that very juſtly, and beſides cou'd not well do without him, conſented he ſhou'd be exchang'd for the King. In vain were endeavours us'd on this Occaſion to bring Matters to an Accommodation between *Stephen* and the Empreſs. As the thing they both laid Claim to, was of ſuch a Nature as not to admit of Diviſion, there was no Poſſibility of ſtriking up a Peace. The Exchange of Priſoners therefore was all that cou'd be done, each Party being left at Liberty to purſue the War. *The King is exchang'd for the Earl of* Gloceſter.

1141. *The Pope writes to the Legate in favour of the King.* Malm.

Ever since the Bishop of *Winchester* had resolv'd to abandon the Empress, he had writ to the Pope, to entreat him to authorize his Proceedings in behalf of the King his Brother. As the Pope had no Information of what pass'd in *England*, but from his *Legate*, he did not fail to send him an Answer according to Wish. The Pope's Letter came not to hand till after *Stephen* was set at Liberty. In it he blam'd the Prelate for having neglected hitherto the endeavouring to restore his Brother to the Throne, and enjoin'd him for the future to do his utmost towards it, exhorting him to use all Power Ecclesiastical and Secular to accomplish that Business. Back'd with this Authority, the *Legate* summoned a Council at *Westminster*, before whom the Pope's Letter was read. The King, who was there in Person, bitterly complain'd against some of his Subjects, who not content with waging War against him, had for a long time shamefully detain'd him in Prison. After this, the Bishop of *Winchester*, in a Rhetorical Harangue, endeavour'd to justify his late Conduct and the frequent Breach of his Oaths. But he wou'd have found it a difficult Matter to purge himself, had he not been befriended by the present Juncture of Affairs. He concluded his Speech with excommunicating all the Adherents of the Empress, as so many Enemies to the publick Peace. The People were not at all pleas'd to see themselves thus liable to Excommunications directly opposite to one another, according to the Humour of the *Legate*. However no one was so hardy as to open his Mouth against it, well knowing 'twou'd be to no Purpose. There was only a *Lay-Agent* of the Empress's, who by her Order charg'd the *Legate* to his Face, that 'twas he himself that had invited her into *England*. He had even the Boldness to tell him, that 'twas by his Advice, that his Brother met with such hard Treatment during his Imprisonment. The *Legate* made no Reply to these Reproaches: but resolv'd to pursue his new Measures, and to complete his Revenge by entirely ruining *Matilda*'s Affairs.

Synod at Westminster.

Upon

Upon *Stephen*'s obtaining his Liberty, *Matilda*'s Intereſt declin'd ſo viſibly, that the Earl of *Gloceſter* was afraid her Party wou'd come to nothing, unleſs ſupported by Foreign Succours. This put him upon going over to *Normandy*, to ſollicit the Earl of *Anjou* to maintain the Right of the Empreſs his Wife, the which was his Son's alſo. But the Earl was too much embroil'd in Domeſtick Troubles, to be able to ſend any great Matter of Succours into *England*. The *Angevin* Nobility were diſſatisfied with him, and the *Normans* were not ſettled enough in their Obedience, for him to venture to be at a Diſtance from them, or to leave his Country unprovided with Troops. He contented himſelf therefore with ſending a few Troops to *Matilda*, together with *Henry* his eldeſt Son, to try whether his Preſence wou'd have any Influence over the *Engliſh*.

1142. *The Earl of* Gloceſter *demands Aid of the Earl of* Anjou.

During the Abſence of the Earl of *Gloceſter*, *Matilda* was retir'd to *Oxford*, where ſhe thought ſhe might remain in Safety, till the Succors ſhe expected from *Normandy* were arriv'd. The King looking upon This as a favourable Juncture, reſolv'd to lay ſiege to that City, in hopes of getting his Rival in his Power, before the Earl's Return. The Siege was carried on with all the Vigour and Diligence poſſible, and held out in the ſame Manner by the Empreſs, who had nothing elſe to truſt to, but a ſtout Defence, in order to avoid the Misfortune that hung over her Head. The Approach of Winter gave her ſome Hopes the King wou'd be oblig'd to retire. But He being reſolutely bent to continue his Attacks, notwithſtanding the Rigour of the Seaſon, ſhe found herſelf at length reduc'd to a Neceſſity of capitulating. As ſhe dreaded above all Things the undergoing the ſame Fate ſhe had inflicted on her Enemy, ſhe did not think fit to wait the Iſſue of the Capitulation, which cou'd not but prove fatal to her. Whilſt ſhe amus'd the King with demanding ſuch Terms, as he wou'd never grant, ſhe took the Advantage of a dark Night, and went out of the City, cloath'd all in white, that ſhe might deceive the Centinels, by Reaſon the Ground was cover'd with Snow. She paſs'd the *Thames*

Matilda *beſieg'd in* Oxford. Hunt. Malm. Paris.

She eſcapes with great Difficulty.

1142. on the Ice, and walk'd above ſix Miles on Foot, with the Snow beating in her Face all the Way. In ſpite of all Difficulties, ſhe came to *Abington*, where ſhe took Horſe and rid that ſame Night to *Wallingford*. The King was aſtoniſh'd when he came to find he was thus diſappointed. He did not much matter the taking of *Oxford*, ſince it put not *Matilda* in his Power. In the mean Time, Prince *Henry* and the Earl of *Gloceſter*, who were juſt arriv'd, being inform'd of the Empreſs's lucky Eſcape, went to her at *Wallingford*, where the Sight of her Son blotted out, for a Time, all remembrance of her Misfortunes. Here ends the Hiſtory of *William of Malmsbury*, one of the moſt exact and moſt judicious Writers of thoſe Days, and whom, for that reaſon, I have chiefly taken for my Guide.

1143. *A Synod at* London *grants the King a Subſidy.*

In the Beginning of the year 1143. the *Legate* ſummon'd a Council at *London*, at which the King was preſent. He made a long Speech, the Drift of which was to convince the Biſhops of the Neceſſity of their exerting themſelves more vigorouſly than they had hitherto done, in order to bring a War, ſo prejudicial to the Kingdom, to a ſpeedy Concluſion. He declar'd, he was ready to perſevere in expoſing his Life in the Service of the State: but added, he cou'd not flatter himſelf with any hopes of Succeſs, without the Aſſiſtance of his Subjects. And therefore he requir'd, that all thoſe that were able to bear Arms, ſhou'd attend him in his military Expeditions, and that the Reſt ſhou'd furniſh him with Money. This was addreſs'd particularly to the *Clergy*, who being entirely guided by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, promis'd to grant him a *Subſidy*. However upon this Condition, that *the Church* ſhou'd be better protected for the future, than it had been heretofore. The King having aſſur'd them that 'twas his Intention, and that he wou'd always take Care, that the *Canons* ſhou'd be ſtrictly obſerv'd, the *Council* paſs'd Two, which related to the Times. By the Firſt 'twas declar'd, that He that kill'd an *Eccleſiaſtick*, ſhou'd not be abſolv'd by any but the Pope. The ſecond ordain'd, that whoever inſulted the *Husbandman*, actually employ'd in his *Vocation*, ſhou'd

ſhou'd ſuffer the ſame Puniſhment as They that committed the like Outrage in a *Church* or *Church-yard*. 1143.

Continuation of the War.

The Reſt of this Year's Occurrences conſiſt only of a tedious Account of the Particulars of the Civil War, which laid the Kingdom waſte. We meet with nothing but Taking and ſurpriſing Caſtles, ſome little Skirmiſhes of no Conſequence, and Abundance of Barbarities and Cruelties committed on both Sides. Not to tire the Reader with the Recital of Matters of no Moment, I ſhall only obſerve, that in this and the three next Years, *Stephen*'s Party viſibly gain'd Ground. To which the Death of the Earl of *Gloceſter*, and of *Milo* the Earl of *Hereford* (*a*), her chief Councellor and moſt faithful Friend, greatly contributed. After the Loſs of theſe two Earls, *Matilda*, perceiving ſhe ſhou'd not be able to ſtand her Ground much longer, left *England* and retir'd to *Normandy*, where ſhe had already ſent back the Prince her Son. The Earl of *Anjou* his Father had earneſtly deſir'd her to do ſo, plainly perceiving 'twas to no Purpoſe that he expos'd himſelf to continual Danger in endeavouring to ſnatch from a Prince a Crown, on whoſe Head it ſeem'd to be too well fix'd.

1144. 1145. 1146.

Death of the Earl of Gloceſter.

Matilda *goes into* Normandy.

Upon the Empreſs's going off, *Stephen* finding himſelf in peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Crown, fell to contriving the Means to ſecure it after his Death, to *Euſtace* his eldeſt Son. To this End he got ſome of the Barons to take their Oath to him, imagining he ſhou'd by that Means gain his Point. But his own Experience might have taught him what a broken Reed he truſted to.

1147. Stephen *Maſter of the whole Kingdom.* Hunt. Gervaſ. Hoved.

Towards the latter End of the year 1147 he went and kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Lincoln*; where he wou'd put on his Crown, notwithſtanding 'twas foretold, by a certain Prophecy, that great Misfortunes ſhou'd befall the Kings who durſt appear in that City with their Crowns on.

Whilſt

(*a*) *Milo* was created Earl of *Hereford* by *Patent* from *Matilda*, being the Firſt of that Kind that we know of. 'Tis to be ſeen in *Rymer*'s *Fœdera*. Tom. I. p. 8.

1148. *A new Croisade, wherein* Lewis *of* France *distinguishes himself. Falls out with his Queen.*

Whilst *Stephen* was enjoying the Peace and Quiet that follow'd upon *Matilda*'s Retreat, the Zeal of the Christian World rouzing it self again, a fresh *Croisade* against the *Saracens* was set on foot. *Lewis the Young*, King of *France*, signaliz'd himself in this Expedition, by the great Number of Troops he led in Person to *the Holy-Land*. He was accompanied by *Eleanor* of *Guyenne* his Queen, Heiress of the House of *Poictiers*, by whom he had in Dowry the Earldom of *Guyenne* with its Appurtenances, and all *Poictou*. During the Journey, which lasted near two years, *Lewis* fell out in such a manner with his Queen, upon some Suspicion, well or ill-grounded *, that he resolv'd to divorce her as soon as he reach'd *France* again.

1149. *Prince* Henry *forms a Design of asserting his Claim to* England. Hunt. Hoved.

Since *Matilda* had, as it were, dropp'd all Pretensions to *England*, *Stephen* thought of nothing but reaping the Fruits of his Labours, and repairing the Mischiefs the Kingdom had suffer'd by a long War. But a new Rival, who was preparing to dispute the Crown with him, soon made him sensible, that he was still far enough from the Tranquillity he had pleas'd himself with the Hopes of. *Henry*, the eldest Son of *Matilda* by the Earl of *Anjou*, a Prince of sixteen years of Age, and of a lively and enterprising *Genius*, thought the Difficulties, which the Empress his Mother met with in *England*, ought not to be any Discouragement to him. He did not question but They that had supported the Right of the lawful Heir, wou'd always continue in the same Mind, and that a new Leader, of more Youth and Vigour wou'd inspire them with fresh Courage. In this Belief, he resolv'd to go to the King of *Scotland* his Great-Uncle, and concert Measures with him how to accomplish his Design. *David* having Notice of the Prince's Coming, met him in *Northumberland*. After he had conferr'd with him about his Affairs, he knighted him, according to the Custom of those Days, when this Ceremony was deem'd necessary for all Those that took upon them the Profession of Arms. In the

He confers with the King of Scotland.

* He suspected her of Adultery with a young *Saracen*; but the Pretence he made use of to divorce her was that they were Cousins in the Fourth Degree.

the mean time, *Stephen*, who had receiv'd Intelligence of this Interview, fearing they had ſome Deſign upon *York*, march'd thither with all ſpeed and reinforc'd the Garriſon. Upon his Approach, the two Princes took their Leaves of one another. *David* returning to *Scotland*, and *Henry* to *Normandy*. He was ſcarce arriv'd at *Roan*, when *Geoffrey* his Father departed this Life, leaving him the Earldom of *Anjou*, till ſuch Time as the Empreſs his Mother's Death ſhou'd put him in poſſeſſion of *Normandy*, after which he was to give up *Anjou* to *Geoffrey* his younger Brother. 1150. *Earl of* Anjou *dies.*

Lewis had deferr'd the divorcing of *Eleanor* his Wife, only till he had brought her back to *France*. Immediately after his Return, he put his Reſolution in Practice, and generouſly reſtor'd to her, *Guyenne*, *Poictou*, *Saintonge*, and all the Dominions in general that ſhe had brought him in Marriage, and provided alſo for the two Daughters he had by her. As ſoon as this Divorce became publick, *Henry*, who with his Mother's Conſent had taken the Title of *Duke of Normandy*, contriv'd the Means to ſecure the Poſſeſſion of this rich Heireſs. Matters were carried on with ſuch Secrecy, that the firſt News *Lewis* heard of the Affair, was that the Duke was gone to the Queen at *Bourdeaux*, where their Nuptials were ſolemniz'd with extraordinary Magnificence. This was a great Mortification to the *French* King, who cou'd not bear to ſee another deckt with his Spoils, tho' he himſelf had voluntarily relinquiſh'd them. Beſides, he was ſenſible, how formidable *Henry* wou'd become to *France*, in caſe he ſhou'd one day ſit on the Throne of *England*, to which he had ſo good a Title. On the other Hand, this ſame Marriage made *Stephen* no leſs uneaſy, who cou'd not behold this Increaſe of Power in his Rival without dreading the Conſequences of it. The Jealouſy of theſe two Monarchs being thus rous'd, it was not long before they enter'd into an Alliance, the Deſign of which was to humble a Prince, who was grown very formidable to Both. *Lewis* rais'd him Diſturbances in *Anjou* by means of *Geoffrey* his Brother, who thought he had a Right, by Vertue of his Father's Will, to take Poſſeſſion 1151. Lewis *divorces* Eleanor. Henry *marries her.* Lewis *and* Stephen *grow jealous of* Henry. *They enter into a League.*

1151. session of that Earldom. At the same Time, he invested once more *Eustace* Son of *Stephen*, with *Normandy*, that *Henry* thus attack'd from two Quarters might afford the King of *England* time to establish himself on the Throne. On the other Side, *Stephen* took all the Measures, he thought capable of destroying the Duke's Party in *England*, in order to cut off all his Hopes of ever coming to the Crown. The most proper Means to this End was, in his Opinion, to get his Son *Eustace* crown'd before-hand. But he met with Obstacles he little dreamt of. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* flatly refus'd to comply with his Request, and his Reason for it was still more offensive than the Denial it self. He told him, that the Pope had expressly forbidden him to crown the Son of a Prince, who contrary to his Oath had usurp'd the Kingdom. If it was true that the Pope had given any such Orders to the Archbishop, his Sentiments were very different from Those of his Predecessor, *Innocent* II. But 'tis very likely that this Prelate, as well as the rest of the Bishops, made use of this Pretence as a Cloak for the Engagement they had already enter'd into with the Duke of *Normandy*. Be this as it will, the King, incens'd at the obstinate Denial of the Bishops, caus'd them to be all shut up in one House, resolving to keep them there till they shou'd comply with his Will. As this was a very extraordinary Way of proceeding, so it met not with Success. The House, where the Bishop's were detain'd, not having been carefully enough guarded, the Archbishop found the Means to get out and escape to *Normandy*. By his Flight the King's Project entirely fell to the Ground.

Stephen *tries to get his Son crown'd, but cannot.*

1152. *Stephen* was extremely offended at the Presumption of the *Clergy*, who claim'd a Power of *Making* and *Unmaking Kings* just as they pleas'd or as it suited with the Interests of such as had an Influence over the rest. As he did not question but the Duke of *Normandy* had gain'd the Bishops to his Party, and as he durst not directly attack them, he thought the best Way to bring them back to their Duty, wou'd be to seize upon some Castles, which still remain'd in the Hands of the Duke's Friends, by that means

He forms a Design of humbling the Clergy. Diceto Gervas. Hunt.

means depriving them of their Protection. At the ſame Time, he ſent his Son *Euſtace* into *Normandy* to join the King of *France* and attack that Dutchy. *Stephen*'s Aim was to prevent *Henry* from coming into *England* and aſſiſting his Friends there. But this War laſted not ſo long as he expected. *Henry*, by his extraordinary Courage and Diligence, drove out of *Anjou* his Brother *Greoffrey*, who had already ſeiz'd upon ſome Fortreſſes. After which he march'd back to *Normandy*, where he found the Means by making him ſome Satisfaction, to ſtrike up a Peace with the King of *France*. This done, it was no hard Matter to drive *Euſtace* out of *Normandy*, where he had not as yet got any good Footing. *Euſtace* finding nothing was to be done in that Country, returned to *England*, and went and join'd his Father, who was taken up with beſieging *Wallingford*. This was one of the ſtrongeſt Places in the Kingdom. Accordingly the King ſpent ſo much Time in the Siege that the Duke had leiſure enough to come to its Relief, after he had ſettled his Affairs in *Normandy*. 1152.

He beſieges Wallingford.

The young Duke, perceiving of what Importance it was to ſuccour his Friends in *England*, led over thither ſo conſiderable a Number of Forces, that he gave new Life to his Party, which ſince *Matilda*'s Departure, ſeem'd to be quite out of Heart. Several Barons immediately join'd him, and put into his Hands 30 fortified Caſtles, whoſe Garriſons he reinfor'd. After this, he haſted to the Relief of *Wallingford*, which was very hard preſs'd, tho' the King was abſent, being gone to *London* to make freſh Preparations. *Henry* drawing near with his Army, and finding it very difficult to aſſault the Beſiegers in their Intrenchments, contented himſelf with ſecuring the Avenues, through which they were ſupplied with Proviſions. This way of Proceeding would have proved fatal to them, had not *Stephen* poſted with all ſpeed to their Succour. He marched up very near to the Duke of *Normandy*, and without deſigning to attack him, brought him into the ſame Inconveniencies, he had for ſome few days reduc'd the Beſiegers to.

Henry *goes over into* England, *and is join'd by ſome of the Barons. He marches to* Wallingford.

1152. *The two Armies being just going to engage, the Earl of* Arundel *perswades the King to Peace.*

It was scarce possible for the Armies to separate without engaging. Accordingly the two Leaders were preparing for Battle with equal Ardour, when, by the prudent Advice of the Earl of *Arundel*, who was on the King's Side, they were prevented from coming to Blows. He represented to the King the Miseries the Kingdom was going to be expos'd to by a Battle, which cou'd not but be very bloody, and almost as fatal to the Vanquishers, as Vanquish'd. He added, that 'twou'd be more Christian-like, to try whether Matters cou'd not be accommodated by a Treaty, which wou'd restore Peace to the unfortunate Kingdom. In fine, he plainly told him, that 'twas not reasonable that a whole Nation shou'd be expos'd to the greatest Calamities, on account of two Princes who aim'd more at gratifying their own Ambition, than at the Happiness of the *English*. Whether these Remonstrances made any Impression on *Stephen*, or whether he was apprehensive of being deserted, if he obstinately persisted in a Resolution to fight, he consented that an Accommodation shou'd be propos'd to the Duke. It was not without Difficulty that the young Prince, who had prepar'd for Battle, was brought to hearken to the King's Proposal. But perceiving that the *English* Lords press'd him very earnestly to it, he thought proper to yield to their Importunity, and consent to the Interview *Stephen* had demanded. In a short Conference, these two Princes held together on the opposite Banks of the *Thames* which was pretty narrow at that Place, they agreed upon a Truce, in order to have Time to negotiate a Peace.

Henry *consents to it with Difficulty.*

A Truce made.

1153. Eustace *retires from the Army.*

Earl *Eustace* cou'd not but be mightily concern'd at this Truce. He foresaw that in all appearance a Peace would follow, which must needs be prejudicial to him. And indeed it was not to be suppos'd, that the Duke of *Normandy* unconquer'd at the Head of his Army, wou'd drop his Pretensions to the Crown. To avoid being oblig'd to sign the Treaty, or perhaps to try to throw some Obstacle in its way, *Eustace* suddenly left the Army, and retir'd into *Suffolk*. Shortly after, as he was going to sit down at Table in the Abby of St. *Edmundsbury*, he fell into a Frenzy,

He dies.

zy, and died in three Days, being 18 years of Age. He was buried in the Abbey of *Feverſham* with the Queen his Mother, who died a few Months before. *Conſtantia* his Widow, Daughter to *Lewis the Fat*, was married afterwards to *Raymond* Earl of *Tholouſe*. 1153.

Stephen was extremely afflicted for the Loſs of his Queen and Son, which ſeem'd to him to portend ſome farther Misfortunes. And indeed the Nobility openly abandon'd him and went over to the Duke of *Normandy*. As there were very few Barons but what had been guilty of Diſloyalty, the Dread they were in, that the King might have it in his Thoughts to be reveng'd of them, made them judge it neceſſary for their Safety to put themſelves under the Protection of the Duke. Their Suſpicions were the more confirm'd by what had juſt happen'd to the Earl of *Cheſter*. This Earl having waited on the King with an Offer of his Service, had been taken into cloſe Cuſtody, from whence he cou'd not free himſelf but by delivering the Caſtle of *Lincoln* into the King's Hands. 'Twas not however without Cauſe that the King was willing to ſecure himſelf againſt the Earl, who had privately ſided with the Duke of *Normandy*, as appears from a Charter in *the Collection of publick Acts*, whereby *Henry* promis'd him the Poſſeſſion of certain Lands. 'Tis probable therefore, that *Stephen* had ſome Intelligence of this Matter. But whether he had neglected to publiſh the Reaſons of his confining the Earl, or whether he cou'd not plainly convict him of his Treachery, this Action was look'd upon by the reſt of the Barons, as a Preſage of what they themſelves were to expect. And indeed, there were ſeveral of them, who having enter'd likewiſe into Articles with the Duke, believ'd it ſafer to declare for him openly, than to expoſe themſelves to the King's Reſentments by ſtaying at Court.

The Barons ſide with the Duke. The Reaſon of it.

Acta Publica. Tom. I. p. 12.

David King of *Scotland* died this Year, leaving only ſome Grandchildren by *Henry* his Son, who died before him. *Malcolm* and *William*, the two eldeſt, ſucceeded one another to the Crown, and *David* their Brother was Earl of *Huntington*.

David King of Scotland dies.

1153. Stephen *resolves to make Peace with* Henry.

The Truce between *Stephen* and *Henry* was renew'd ſeveral Times, by reaſon of the Difficulties which occurr'd in the Negotiation of the Peace. The main Obſtacle was *Stephen*'s Deſire to ſettle the Succeſſion on his Son *William*, to which *Henry* wou'd never conſent. He was willing that *Stephen* ſhou'd enjoy the Crown during his Life: But after his Death, he inſiſted upon ſucceeding him. He even thought he had abated a great deal of his Right, in obliging himſelf not to give any Diſturbance to a Rival, who was not yet fifty Years of Age. In fine, *Stephen*, reflecting on the State of his Affairs, and the great Obſtacles that lay in his Way, reſolved to purchaſe Peace and Quiet by dropping the Deſign he had form'd. He was ſenſible, the noble Qualities of the Duke, and his Title to the Crown, a Title powerfully ſupported, were Difficulties that cou'd not eaſily be ſurmounted. The Inclinations of the Nobles and People gave him further Occaſion to dread, they wou'd not ſtay for his Death, to put the Scepter into the Hands of the young Prince. Theſe Conſiderations induc'd him at length to conſent to the Peace, as propos'd by *Henry*. As ſoon as it was ſign'd, *Stephen* perform'd the Ceremony of adopting the young Duke, who paid him the Reverence due to a Father. On the other Hand, *William* the King's Son, ſwore Fealty to *Henry*, who promis'd him on his Part to maintain him in the Poſſeſſion of the Eſtates of his Family, and of all thoſe that had been granted him by the King his Father, ſince his Acceſſion to the Crown *.

The Terms of it.

He adopts Henry.

This Treaty was concluded and ſign'd at *Wincheſter*, at an Aſſembly conven'd for that Purpoſe of all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal. After This, the two Princes made their publick Appearance together in the principal Cities, where they were receiv'd with great Demonſtrations of Joy. The People cou'd not enough expreſs their Satisfaction at ſeeing Peace and Tranquillity at length reſtor'd to the Kingdom after ſo many Years of Troubles and

The People rejoice at the Peace.

* This Agreement is recited and confirm'd by *Stephen*'s *Charter* or Declaration under his Seal, in *Brompton*'s Chronicle [p. 1037, 1038.] directed to all the faithful People of *England*.

and Confuſion. An Hiſtorian affirms that amidſt theſe Rejoicings, *Henry* diſcover'd a Conſpiracy laid againſt him by *William* the King's Son; and adds, the Plot wou'd have been executed, had not *William* by accident fallen off his Horſe and broke his Thigh. To this he attributes the ſudden Departure of the Duke of *Normandy*, who, without ſhowing any Signs of Miſtruſt, took his Leave of the King, and return'd to his Dominions, till ſuch Time as the Death of *Stephen* ſhou'd put him in poſſeſſion of the Throne of *England*. Another Hiſtorian makes no Scruple to aſſert, that *Henry* was *Stephen*'s Son, with whom the Empreſs had liv'd too familiarly before her ſecond Marriage. But there is no depending at all upon the Truth of this Fact, ſince, as the Author owns himſelf, it had no better Foundation than common Report.

1153. Gervaſe. *Plot againſt* Henry, *who returns to* Normandy.

Altho' after the Agreement he had made with *Henry*, *Stephen* cou'd have no hopes of leaving the Crown to his Son, yet he was ſo affected with the Miſeries the Kingdom had endur'd, that he reſolv'd to uſe all his Endeavours to repair them. He even ſeem'd to take proper Meaſures to that End. But Death, which ſurpris'd him unawares, prevented him from executing his generous Deſign. He died in the fiftieth year of his Age, on the 25th of *October* 1154, eleven Months after the Treaty with *Henry*. He was buried by the Queen his Wife and *Euſtace* his Son, in the Abbey of *Feverſham*, which he himſelf had founded.

1154. Stephen's *Death.*

If this Prince's Character be conſider'd in general only, it may be ſaid that he was worthy to live in better Times, and that his good Qualities more than counterballanc'd his bad ones. However 'twou'd be very difficult to juſtify all the Steps he made towards mounting the Throne, particularly the Breach of his Oath. Accordingly, tho' the Conſent of the Barons may ſeem to be of ſome Weight in this Matter, yet as it was procur'd by Faction and Cabal, ſeveral are of opinion that he ought for all that to be deem'd an Uſurper. His Breaking his Word on certain Occaſions, is moreover a ſtain to his Memory. Perhaps the Circumſtances of the Times and of his Affairs hurried him on to greater Lengths than his natural Temper wou'd otherwiſe have

Stephen's *Character.*

1154. have carried him. But however, one cannot refuse him the Commendations due to his Valour, Clemency, and Generosity. He gave a Proof of the First in the Battle of *Lincoln*, where he was taken Prisoner. That he was possess'd of the two other Virtues can't be denied, when one considers, that throughout his whole Reign there is not a single Instance of Severity to be met with, tho' several of the Barons, whom the Fortune of War had put in his Power, had given him but too much Reason to use them with Rigour. 'Tis true, there are some Historians, that have done their utmost to blacken his Reputation. But it must be observ'd, that the greatest Part of them wrote in the Reign of *Henry* II. or of his Sons. As for *William of Malmsbury*, who was Cotempary with *Stephen*, he is known to be a Creature of the Earl of *Gloucester*'s, to whom he dedicated the last Part of his History. This alone shou'd make us read with Caution, what he relates to *Stephen*'s Disadvantage. After all, it is no easy Matter to determine whether the Crown justly belong'd to *Matilda*, or whether *Stephen*'s Election gave him a Right to take Possession of it. What may be said with more Certainty is This, that, after *the Conquest*, the *Saxon* Laws were no longer regarded, and it does not appear that the *Normans* had as yet establish'd any settled Rules concerning the Succession to the Crown.

The Canon Law receiv'd in England.

The Troubles during this Reign furnish'd the *Clergy* with a favourable Opportunity of raising the *Mitre* above the *Crown*. The Court of *Rome* laid hold also on this Juncture, to introduce into *England* new Laws, which the *English* without doubt wou'd have oppos'd at any other Time. The *Canon Law* compil'd by *Gratian* in 1151, by the Authority of *Eugenius* III. was brought into *England*, by the means of the Dispute between the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the Bishop of *Winchester* about the *Legateship*. This Contest gave the *Italian Canonists* an Opportunity to settle in *England*, and introduce by Degrees the Study of the *Canon Law* into the University of *Oxford*, where *Vacarius* was the first *Professor*.

Stephen

Stephen left but one legitimate Son, call'd *William*, who was Earl of *Bulloign* in Right of the Queen his Mother. He had alſo one Daughter nam'd *Maria*, who after ſhe had put on the *Veil*, was notwithſtanding married to *Philip* of *Alſace*; but upon the Death of her Husband ſhe return'd to the Nunnery. 1154. Stephen's Iſſue.

A natural Son of *Stephen*'s, call'd *William*, as well as the legitimate one, has given Occaſion to Some, deceiv'd by the Likeneſs of their Names, to affirm that this Prince left behind him only a Baſtard Son.

The

The STATE *of the Church during the Reigns of* WILLIAM I. WILLIAM II. HENRY *and* STEPHEN.

The different Character of the Saxon *and* Norman *Kings with regard to the* Church.

THE Revolution in *England* by the *Norman Conqueſt* introduc'd a New Face of things both in *Church* and *State*. More eſpecially the *Pope* and *Clergy* were conſiderable Loſers by it. Inſtead of the Devout and Submiſſive *Saxon* Princes who were ready to embrace all Opportunities of augmenting the *Privileges* and *Revenues* of the *Church*, they had to deal with a Race of *Norman* Kings, who were of quite another Stamp. Wholly taken up with graſping at Arbitrary Power, they cou'd not away with any Diſtinction between the *Clergy* and *Laity* as to Point of Obedience. They challeng'd an equal Authority over Both. What Schemes ſoever the Court of *Rome* had laid to render the *Clergy* Independent of the Regal Power, the Reigns of the two *Williams* were not look'd upon as favourable Junctures to put them in Execution. The *Normans*, out of a Motive of Intereſt, were entirely attach'd to their Sovereigns, and the *Engliſh*, in the low Eſtate they were reduc'd to, were no proper Inſtruments to promote the Cauſe of the Court of *Rome*. Matters ſtanding thus in *England*, the moſt vigorous Efforts of the Popes to enlarge their Power there, wou'd have been all to no Purpoſe. This in all likelihood was the Reaſon that made *Gregory* VII. with all his Haughtineſs, ſtoop to the reſolute and ſteddy Temper of *William the Conqueror*. This Monarch, not content with boldly denying to do Homage to *Gregory* as he demanded, openly made a Jeſt of the *Papal* Decrees. He

govern'd the *Clergy* of his Kingdom, as well as the reſt of his Subjects, with an Abſolute Sway. If he ſuffer'd the Pope's *Legates* to preſide at a *Council*, 'twas only that he might with the greater Eaſe get rid of certain Biſhops who gave him ſome Diſturbance. But when he found that this ſame *Synod* ſcrupled to come into all his Meaſures, he exerted his abſolute Power. By his Sole Authority, he baniſh'd or impriſon'd ſuch Biſhops as he did not like, without troubling himſelf to ſtay for a *Canonical* Sentence. On the other Hand, whilſt the Pope was thundring out *Anathema's* againſt the Emperor, and compelling him to do him a diſhonorable Homage, *William* peaceably enjoy'd, in his Dominions, the Right of *Inveſtitures*, which was the Subject of the Quarrel between the Emperor and the Court of *Rome*. He made the *Church-Lands* liable to the ſame Incumbrances with the *Lay-Fees*. He ſeiz'd upon the Gold and Silver depoſited in the Monaſteries, and ſpar'd not even the *Conſecrated Veſſels*. Nothing was tranſacted in the *Church* but by his Direction, and the *Synodal Conſtitutions* were no longer in Force than during his Pleaſure. He went ſtill further, and ſet himſelf, in ſome Meaſure, above the *Popes*, by forbidding his Subjects to receive their Orders or acknowledge their Authority, without his Permiſſion.

William Rufus had no greater Regard for the *Church's* Immunities. All the Pope's Menaces were ineffectual to prevent him from keeping the vacant Biſhopricks and Abbeys in his own Hands, and to diſpoſe of them afterwards to the beſt Bidder. I do not pretend by any Means to excuſe the Conduct of theſe two Monarchs in theſe Particulars. My Deſign is only to make appear, by theſe Inſtances, that the Court of *Rome* owes the Progreſs and Growth of its Power purely to its politick and prudent Management. The Popes wiſely gave way to Princes of Reſolution and Steddineſs, whilſt at the ſame time they vigorouſly exerted themſelves againſt ſuch, whoſe Circumſtances wou'd not permit them to oppoſe their Deſigns. We have a plain Inſtance of this Politick way of Proceeding in the different Behaviour of the Court

The prudent Policy of the Court of Rome to eſtabliſh her Authority.

Court of *Rome* with regard to the four firſt Kings of the *Norman* Race. After *She* had given way to the two *Williams*, *She* ſtrugled along time with *Henry* I. But when *She* found there was no getting the Better of him, *She* ſat down contented with what *She* wou'd have ſpurn'd at with Scorn in the Beginning of the Conteſt. *She* compounded the Matter with that Monarch, by conſenting that the Biſhops and Abbots ſhou'd do him Homage, at the very time *She* obſtinately refus'd the ſame Terms to the Emperour, whoſe Affairs were not in ſo good a Condition. As for *Stephen*, *She* knew how to make the beſt of the Commotions during his Reign by fomenting them by the Means of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. As *She* was always upon the Watch to lay hold on all the Advantages that offer'd, *She* took an Occaſion from theſe ſame Troubles to appoint a *Legate*, different from the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, which *She* durſt not have done at any other time. This Incroachment ſeem'd at firſt but of little Conſequence, but was afterwards attended with a great Influence upon the Affairs of *England*. By the Means of theſe *Legates* it was, that at length *She* ſet *Her* Foot on the Necks both of the *Kings* and of the *Clergy*. I ſay, of the *Clergy*, ſince 'tis manifeſt *She* aimed no leſs at humbling the Biſhops and Archbiſhops than the Kings.

She aims at humbling the Clergy *as well as the Kings.*

We have a manifeſt Proof of this Deſign, in the Haughty Treatment *Lanfranc*, nominated to the *See* of *Canterbury* upon *Stigand*'s Deprivation, met with from the Court of *Rome*. *Lanfranc* was a Prelate of diſtinguiſh'd Worth, equally eſteem'd by the King, the *Engliſh*, and the *Normans*, and conſequently of very great Credit in *England*. And yet, he cou'd never obtain a Diſpenſation for not going to *Rome* in Perſon, to receive the *Pall* at the Pope's Hands. *Hildebrand*, then Archdeacon of *Rome* and afterwards prefer'd to the *Papal Chair*, under the Name of *Gregory* VII, wrote him a Letter on that Subject, wherein he endeavour'd to ſoften his being refus'd. He told him, that if there had been any *Precedent* that the like Favour had been granted to any one of his Prede-

The Pope refuſes to ſend the Pall *to* Lanfranc.

The Reaſons of it.

Predeceſſors, he wou'd not have met with a Denial. But, either he was not well vers'd in the *Eccleſiaſtical* Hiſtory of *England*, or elſe, he ſuppos'd that *Lanfranc* knew nothing of the *Pall*'s being ſent to *Auſtin*, *Juſtus*, *Honorius*, all three Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*. 'Twas not then out of a Scruple to introduce a New Cuſtom, that *Lanfranc* was denied this Favour, but for fear the Archbiſhops ſhou'd by degrees forget their Dependence on the Pope. We ſhall frequently ſee in the Sequel of this Hiſtory, how much the *Roman Pontiffs* abus'd their exorbitant Power over the *Clergy* of *England*. 'Tis not yet time to inſiſt on theſe Matters. But in order to give a general Knowledge of the moſt important *Eccleſiaſtical* Affairs, which happen'd in *England* during the Interval we have gone thro', it is neceſſary to lay down the Riſe of the Diſputes between the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*. This Conteſt, which laſted ſo long, is not one of the moſt inconſiderable Articles of the *Eccleſiaſtical* Hiſtory of *England*.

The Riſe of the Diſpute between the two Archbiſhops. Malm. Sax. An.

Whilſt *Lanfranc* was preparing for his Journey to *Rome*, *Thomas*, Canon of *Bayeux*, one of *William the Conqueror*'s Chaplains, was nominated to the *See* of *York*. Shortly after the new Prelate came to *Canterbury* to receive his Conſecration from that Archbiſhop according to Cuſtom. But *Lanfranc* having requir'd him to bind himſelf in *Writing* to perform *Canonical* Obedience to that *See*, he refus'd to comply, and went away without being conſecrated. This Conteſt having made a great Noiſe, the King wanted to be inform'd of the whole Matter, ſuſpecting *Lanfranc* had carried his Prerogatives too High. But after ſeveral *Engliſh* Lords had made appear that *Lanfranc* had Cuſtom on his ſide, *William*, without taking upon him to decide the Diſpute, found out an Expedient to ſatisfie the two Archbiſhops. This was that *Thomas* ſhou'd go to *Canterbury* and make a Profeſſion of Obedience in *Writing* to *Lanfranc*, as the *Senior*, and that the ſettling the Rights of the two *Sees* ſhou'd be referr'd to the Pope. This Expedient having been approv'd of, the two Prelates ſet out together for

Rome to receive the *Pall*, and also to get this Controversy as well as another concerning the Jurisdiction over the *Sees* of *Lincoln*, *Lichfield* and *Worcester* decided. *Alexander* II. who was then Pope, receiv'd *Lanfranc* with particular Marks of Respect. As soon as he saw him, he rise up from his *Chair* to embrace him, declaring however that he did not treat him thus on the Score of his Station, but out of regard to his Merit. *Thomas* met with a very different Reception. The Pope voided his Election, on pretence that being the Son of a Priest, he was incapable of holding any Church Preferment. However, a few days after, he was restor'd by the Mediation of *Lanfranc*. As for the Controversies between the two Archbishops, as he was not perfect Master of their Case, he referr'd the Decision of Matters to the *English* Bishops and Abbots.

Thus the two Archbishops return'd to *England* with their Disputes undecided. As they were equally desirous to see an End put to the Affair, they went upon their Arrival to the King at *Windsor*, where on account of the *Paschal* Solemnity most of the Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal* were assembled. The Cause was argued before the King with great Warmth on both Sides. *Lanfranc* founded his Claim upon the following Reasons. 1. That the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury* was to be consider'd the same as if the *See* had been fix'd at *London*, the Metropolis of the Kingdom, seeing *Gregory* I. decreed it shou'd be so. 2. That the *Church* of *Canterbury* was the most antient in the Kingdom, and the *Mother* of all the Rest. 3. He alledg'd the *Constitutions* of several Popes, whereby the Privilege, he laid claim to, was granted to his *See*. 4. He maintain'd that the Archbishops of *Canterbury* had exercis'd Jurisdiction within the Province of *York*. To this Purpose he produc'd the Example of *Theodore*, who had even *depriv'd* several Bishops in the Kingdom of *Northumberland*. 5. Lastly, he added, that the Archbishops of *York* had made a Profession to his Predecessors of the *Canonical Obedience*, which *Thomas* refus'd to submit to. For Proof of this, he instanc'd in *Ealdulph*, who

Reasons for Canterbury.

who had made no ſcruple to profeſs Obedience to *Adelard.*

The Archbiſhop of *York* replied, That it was true, *Gregory* I. did deſign to have fix'd the *Archiepiſcopal See* at *London*, but that he was far enough from any Thoughts of giving that *See* any Pre-eminence over *York*. To make good his Aſſertion, he cited the Authority of *Bede*, who ſays in expreſs Terms, that *Gregory* had decreed, that after the Death of *Auſtin*, the two Archbiſhopricks ſhou'd ſtand upon an equal Foot of Privilege and Independency. *Thomas* inferr'd from thence, that ſuppoſing the *Archiepiſcopal See* had been at *London*, it wou'd make Nothing for *Lanfranc*'s Cauſe. 2. He ſaid, 'twas not Fact, that the *Church* of *Canterbury* was the Mother of that of *York*, ſince 'twas notorious to all the World, that the *Church* of *York* was founded by the *Scotch* Monks, who had no manner of Relation to the *Church* of *Canterbury*. 3. As for the Juriſdiction exercis'd by *Theodore* in *Northumberland*, he aſſerted that he laid hold on the Diſturbances which at that time diſtracted the *Church*, to extend his Authority over that Kingdom, and therefore being manifeſtly uſurp'd, it cou'd not ſerve for a Precedent to found a Right upon. *Lanfranc* wou'd have found it a difficult Matter to anſwer the Argument brought by *Thomas* from *Gregory*'s Regulation concerning the Independency of the two Archbiſhops, if he had not been able to plead the Conſtitutions of ſeveral Popes in his Behalf. Moreover, he ſupported his Title by Cuſtom, concerning which the *Engliſh* gave their Teſtimony in his Favour. This was alſo a great Means of his gaining the Cauſe. They were of Opinion, that the Popes, Succeſſors to *Gregory*, had a Power to annull his *Conſtitution*, and therefore the King and Lords thought it juſt that the Archbiſhops of *York* ſhou'd make Profeſſion of *Canonical Obedience* to the *See* of *Canterbury*. The other Controverſy about the three Biſhopricks, was decided likewiſe in Favour of *Lanfranc*, and the Archbiſhop of *York* acquieſc'd in both theſe *Sentences*. But however, to avoid any Diſputes for the future, there was drawn up, in the Name of the two Arch-

Reaſons for York.

The Sentence of the King and Lords.

Articles of Agreement between the two Archbiſhops.

Archbiſhops, a Writing in form of an Agreement, wherein all Matters between them were adjuſted. *Thomas* was made to own that he was in the Wrong to diſpute *Lanfranc*'s Superiority, and Juriſdiction over the whole *Church of England*. He declar'd, that as Archbiſhop of *York* he ow'd *Canonical* Obedience, not only to the Perſon of *Lanfranc* as his Senior, but to all the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*, as ſuch. He dropp'd alſo his Pretenſions to the three Biſhopricks in Queſtion. *Lanfranc*, on his Part, gave up to the Archbiſhops of *York*, the Juriſdiction over all the *Sees* on the *North*-Side of the *Humber* to the fartheſt Parts of *Scotland*. It was likewiſe agreed on, that if the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſhou'd call a *National Synod*, the Archbiſhop of *York* and his *Suffragans*, ſhou'd be oblig'd to make their Appearance, in what part ſoever of the Kingdom the *Synod* ſhou'd be conven'd. The two Archbiſhops further covenanted, that upon the Deceaſe of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Archbiſhop of *York* ſhou'd repair to that City, and with the Aſſiſtance of the *Suffragans* of that *See*, ſhou'd conſecrate the Primate Elect. And that the Perſon nominated to the *See* of *York* ſhou'd be oblig'd to come and be conſecrated within the Province of *Canterbury*. In fine, *Lanfranc* omitted Nothing that might eſtabliſh the Superiority of his *See* over that of *York*. As for the Oath, which *Lanfranc* requir'd of *Thomas*, it is ſaid, in the Agreement, that the King having deſir'd it ſhou'd be diſpens'd with, *Lanfranc* readily conſented to it; however he expreſſly reſerv'd a Right to demand this Oath of thoſe who, for the time to come, ſhou'd be promoted to the *See* of *York*.

Thus the Controverſy between the two *Metropolitan Sees* was determin'd, or at leaſt ſeem'd to be ſo; for in proceſs of time it was frequently ſet on foot again. The Truth is, this was not a Regulation made by a *Synod*, but Articles of Agreement between the Two Archbiſhops, authoris'd by the King. Accordingly this was the Pretence the Archbiſhops of *York* us'd, to renew the Diſpute. They pretended, that as no *Synod* had given Sentenc

Sentence againſt them, their Right remain'd intire. In the time of *Anſelm*, another *Thomas*, nominated to the *See* of *York*, refus'd to take the Oath, but at length was conſtrain'd to do it.

The Diſpute reviv'd by Thurſtan.

Notwithſtanding theſe two Precedents, *Thurſtan* having been elected Archbiſhop of *York*, in the Reign of *Henry* I. refus'd to make the Cuſtomary Submiſſions to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. But the King gave him to underſtand, he muſt either comply, or renounce his Archbiſhoprick. *Thurſtan*, how irkſome ſoever it might be to him, choſe the Latter. However he got the *Chapter of York* to ſend *Delegates* to *Paſchal* II, to repreſent to him the Wrong done to their *See*. Theſe *Delegates* remonſtrated that the King had exceeded his Power, in compelling *Thurſtan* to renounce his Election, for not being willing to ſubject the *See* of *York* to an Obedience, which had never been *Canonically* enjoin'd. This Argument prevailing with the Pope, he writ to the King, exhorting him to reſtore *Thurſtan*, and adding that in Caſe the Archbiſhops had any Diſpute about Privileges, he himſelf wou'd equitably decide the Matter. *Paſchal* being dead, and *Gelaſius* II. having ſucceeded him, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſent his *Agents* to *Rome* to ſound the new Pope's Sentiments concerning the Conteſt. Theſe *Agents* reported, that they found by what the Pope ſaid, that he deſigned to ſend a *Legate* into *England* to decide the Controverſy. But he was prevented by Death, which ſeiz'd him as he was travelling to *France*.

Calixtus II. Succeſſor to *Gelaſius*, being come to *Rheims* to hold a *Council* which he conven'd there, *Thurſtan* obtain'd the King's Leave to go thither; but upon condition that he wou'd not receive *Conſecration* from the Pope or any other Biſhop. However the King, not confiding altogether on this Prelate's Word, ſent a Letter to the Pope on that Head. He proteſted in his Letter, that if *Thurſtan* was conſecrated by any but the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, he ſhou'd never more ſet Foot in *England*. Notwithſtanding this Proteſtation, *Calixtus* himſelf conſecrated *Thurſtan*, in the Preſence of the *Council*. The

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Archdeacon of *Canterbury* wou'd have oppos'd the Matter, but was told by the Pope, that he did not design by it any Manner of Injury to the *See* of *Canterbury*. *Henry* not having been able to prevent *Thurſtan* from being conſecrated, baniſh'd him the Kingdom with his whole Family. But he did not remain long in Exile. The Pope, willing to ſtand by what he had done, threatned the King with *Excommunication*, and his Kingdom with an *Interdict* *. The Reſoluteneſs of the Pope caus'd *Henry* to yield at length, that *Thurſtan* ſhou'd be inſtall'd without making the cuſtomary Submiſſions to the See of *Canterbury*. It is true, to ſave the King's Honour, this Prelate gave his Word, not to perform any of his *Archiepiſcopal* Functions out of the Dioceſe of *York*. Thus the *See* of *York* recover'd in ſome Meaſure, part of the Ground it had loſt. After that, this Conteſt was reviv'd ſeveral Times: But there is no Neceſſity of purſuing this Subject any farther. What has been ſaid is ſufficient to let the Reader ſee the State of the Caſe between the two *Primates*, and the Grounds each proceeded upon.

The See of Canterbury *by degrees extends its Juriſdiction over* Wales.

Before we leave this Subject concerning the Juriſdiction of theſe two *Sees*, it will not be improper to ſpeak of ſome other Matters relating to this Affair. We have ſeen, in the foregoing Book, that *Gucan*, a *Welſh* Prieſt, nominated to the Biſhoprick of *Landaff* in *Wales*, was conſecrated by *Dunſtan* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, tho' the Biſhop of St. *David*'s exercis'd *Archiepiſcopal* Authority in that Country. This was a new Acquiſition of Power to the *See* of *Canterbury*, which till then had no Juriſdiction over the *Welſh* Biſhops. *Gucan*'s Succeſſors following his Example, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* claim'd the ſame Power with regard to all the Biſhops in *Wales*. But they met with great Oppoſition. At length, in the Reign of *Henry* I. *Bernard*, the Queen's Chaplain, having been nominated to the *See* of St. *David*'s, was conſecrated by *Ralph* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. This Step was a great Cor-

* By Virtue of this *Interdict*, all *Divine Service* was to ceaſe, and no part of the Sacerdotal Office to be exercis'd, unleſs in the Baptiſm of Infants and *Abſolution* of dying *Penitents*.

Corroboration of the Archbiſhop's Pretenſions, who maintain'd, that ſince his Juriſdiction was own'd by the Chief of the *Welſh* Biſhops, the reſt cou'd not be off from profeſſing their Obedience. However, as *Bernard* repented afterwards of what he had done, a long Conteſt aroſe, which was not decided 'till *Wales* was united to *England* in the Reign of *Edward* I.

Conteſt about the Juriſdiction of York *over* Scotland.

Whilſt *Ralph* ſat in the *Chair* of *Canterbury*, he receiv'd a Letter from *Alexander* I. King of *Scotland*, wherein he acquainted him with the Death of *Turgot*, Biſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, and deſir'd his Recommendation of a worthy Succeſſor. At the ſame time, he intreated him to remember that the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* had been poſſeſs'd Time out of Mind, of the Right to conſecrate the Biſhops of St. *Andrew*'s, and that *Lanfranc* was the Firſt that yielded up that Privilege to the *See* of *York*. And therefore, he gave him to underſtand that his Intent was to ſet Things again upon their ancient Bottom, and begg'd he wou'd aſſiſt him with his Advice to that End. *Ralph* perceiving by his Letter that *Alexander* wanted an Opportunity to ſowr the Archbiſhop of *York*, was unwilling to concern himſelf in the Matter. And indeed, *Alexander*'s Suppoſition that the *Scotch* Biſhops had any Dependence on the *See* of *Canterbury*, was wholly groundleſs. On the contrary, 'twas very certain, that for a long while the Popes had put the *Church* of *Scotland* under the Juriſdiction of the Archbiſhop of *York*. Theſe antient *Conſtitutions* were the Foundation of the Agreement between *Lanfranc* and *Thomas*. However in proceſs of Time, there were *Scotch* Biſhops, who refus'd to acknowledge the Archbiſhop of *York* for their *Primate*, and by that Means were the Occaſion of violent Conteſts. But at length, Pope *Paſchal* II's *Bull*, whereby he made them *Suffragans* to the *See* of *York*, put an End to the Diſpute.

Tho' the Controverſy between the two Archbiſhops about their Juriſdiction, does not ſeem to be of any great Moment, 'twas neceſſary however to know the Grounds of it, by Reaſon of the frequent Alluſions to their Differences in the *Engliſh* Hiſtory. It is time now to proceed

to Matters of a more general Concern which relates to the whole *Church*, and of which the *Celibacy* of the *Clergy* ſtands in the Front. So many Attempts were made to eſtabliſh it in *England*, and ſuch Obſtacles were laid in its Way, that there's no avoiding being ſomewhat particular on this Head, without paſſing over in ſilence a very conſiderable Article of the *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*.

The Celibacy of the Clergy.

It has been related heretofore, how zealouſly *Dunſtan* and the Partiſans of *Rome* labour'd to introduce the *Celibacy* of the *Clergy*, and how the *Daniſh* Wars conſtrain'd them to ſuſpend their Deſigns. From that Time to the *Norman Conqueſt*, the *Engliſh* Prieſts liv'd on in a State of Marriage, notwithſtanding the ſundry Attempts of the Popes to put a ſtop to that pretended Licentiouſneſs. 'Tis difficult at firſt ſight to conceive why the Popes were ſo obſtinately bent upon this Undertaking, becauſe one ſees not immediately, how much the Intereſt of the Court of *Rome* was concerned in the Caſe. But our Wonder at their labouring ſo heartily in this Affair will ceaſe, when we conſider, 'twas a great Step towards putting in Execution the Project, the Popes had formed of rendering the Clergy independent of the *Civil-Power*, and incorporating them into a Society apart, which ſhould be governed by its own Laws. And indeed, whilſt the Prieſts had Children of their own, 'twas a hard matter to prevent them from having ſome Dependence on their Princes, whoſe Favour has ſo great an Influence on the Fortune of private Perſons. But being without Families and conſequently in expectation of no great Matters from their Sovereign, they were more at Liberty to ſtick by the Pope, who would be look'd upon as the Sovereign of the *Clergy*. Be this as it will, after the Popes had ſet their Hands to this Work, no Stone was left unturned to bring it about. *Gregory* VII. who came to the *Papacy* in the Reign of *William the Conqueror*, ſet his Heart more upon this Affair, than any of his Predeceſſors. He call'd a *Council* at *Rome*, wherein the *Clergy* were forbid to marry under heavy Penalties. The *Italians*, *French*, *Spaniards*, and *Germans* ſubmitted at length, after long Struggle

Reaſons of the Pope's forbidding the Prieſts to marry.

gles. But the *Engliſh*, not being of Opinion that a *Council*, made up for the moſt Part of *Italian* Biſhops, had Power to enact Laws for all *Chriſtendom*, were much more difficult to be dealt with. However *Lanfranc*, either to make his Court to *Gregory*, or becauſe he was perſwaded of the Juſtice of the Thing, endeavour'd to introduce into *England*, the Decrees of the *Council* of *Rome*. To this Purpoſe, he conven'd at *Wincheſter* a *national Synod*, wherein this Affair was debated. He met with ſo ſtrong an Oppoſition, that he was upon the Point of dropping his Deſign. Nevertheleſs, finding that he cou'd not bring the *Synod* to prohibit all the *Clergy* in general from marrying, he procur'd, on what Pretence I know not, a Decree that all Prieſts who had their *Cures* in Cities ſhou'd put away their Wives. But they that had *Benefices* in the Country were not ſo rigorouſly us'd. However, to prevent for the future the married Prieſts from holding any *Cures*, the *Synod* ordain'd, by *Lanfranc*'s Suggeſtion, that none ſhou'd be admitted into *Orders*, before they had ſworn never to marry. This Reſtraint having diſcourag'd many Perſons of Merit from taking *Orders*, the *Church of England* was in a little Time ſo ill provided with able *Miniſters*, that they were forc'd to abate of their Strictneſs in that Point. This is evident from a Letter *Paſchal* II. wrote to *Anſelm*, *Lanfranc*'s Succeſſor. The Pope ſaid, that being inform'd the greateſt Part of the *Engliſh Clergy* were Sons of Prieſts, he was afraid 'twou'd prove a great Prejudice to the *Church*, if the *Canons* were rigorouſly put in Execution. For this Reaſon, he gave a *diſpenſing* Power in this Caſe to the Archbiſhop, when the *Church*'s Intereſt and the Untractableneſs of the *Engliſh* ſhou'd call for it. But inſtead of making uſe of this Power, *Anſelm*, who was of an inflexible Temper, ſummon'd a *Synod* at *London*, wherein the Marriage of Prieſts was condemn'd. This Sentence was incapable of entirely redreſſing this pretended Abuſe. But doubtleſs *Anſelm* wou'd have carried Matters much farther, if his Conteſt with King *Henry* and his Death, which happen'd in 1109, had not hindred him from proſecuting his Deſigns.

To complete the Work which *Lanfranc* and *Anſelm* had already ſo well forwarded, *Honorius* II. ſent Cardinal *de Creme* into *England*, with the Character of *Legate*. The Cardinal call'd a Council at *Weſtminſter*, wherein he ſtrenuouſly inveigh'd againſt the married *Clergy*. Among other Things, he ſaid 'twas a horrible Crime to riſe from the Side of a Harlot, and then to handle the *conſecrated Body* of *Chriſt*. And yet after all his Invectives he was caught that very Night in Bed with a common Woman.

Hunting. *A thing*, ſays an Hiſtorian, *too notorious to be conceal'd, neither ought it to be paſs'd over in Silence.* 'Tis to no Purpoſe that ſeveral Ages after, *Baronius* attempted to deſtroy the Credibility of this Fact by *negative* Proofs, which conclude nothing againſt the *poſitive* Teſtimony of Thoſe that relate it. But however the *Legate*'s Incontinency prevented not the *Synod*'s paſſing a *Canon* againſt the Prieſt's Marriages. On the other Hand, the *Canon* cou'd not entirely put a Stop to this pretended Evil.

Five Years after, *Corbet* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſummon'd another *Council*, wherein they imagin'd they had found out an admirable Expedient to cauſe the *Canons* relating to this Particular to be ſtrictly obſerv'd. This was, to put the Execution of them in the King's Hands, who very readily took the Trouble upon him. But 'twas purely with a View to increaſe his Revenues by ſelling to the Prieſts a Diſpenſation to keep their Wives. Accordingly we find Abundance of the inferior Clergy married in *England*, after the Prieſts of other Countries had ſubmitted to the *Pope's* Decree.

The Pope's Legates. *Celibacy* was not the only Point whereby the Court of *Rome* exaſperated the *Engliſh Clergy*. To reduce them to an entire Obedience to the *Pope*, another Expedient was ſet on Foot, which at firſt was not minded, but in the End drew terrible Conſequences after it. This was the frequent ſending of *Legates*. During the Empire of the *Saxon* and *Daniſh* Kings, we find very rarely any Inſtances of the Pope's ſending *Legates* into *England*. Altho' they had in thoſe Days form'd the Project of becoming abſolute in the *Church*, they had not yet bethought themſelves

ſelves of this Means, which they made uſe of ſo ſucceſsfully afterwards. Perhaps they durſt not put it in Practice too frequently, for fear of alarming the *Metropolitans*, whom it was neceſſary to gain to their Obedience firſt by other Methods. In thoſe Days, the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*, as *Primates* of the *Church of England*, were look'd upon as the natural *Legates* of the *Popes*, who generally entruſted them with the Execution of their Orders. But as they had for the moſt part two oppoſite Things to manage, namely, the Intereſt of the *Church of England*, and, That of the *Pope*, and as theſe very often claſh'd one with another, it frequently fell out that they gave the Preference to the former. This was the Reaſon that the *Popes* ſought ſo earneſtly Opportunities of ſending other *Legates*, who might have no other Views but their Maſter's Intereſt. Accordingly, when in the Reign of *Offa* King of *Mercia*, the Buſineſs was to erect *Lichfield* into an Archbiſhoprick, the Pope laid hold on that Opportunity. As it was not proper to commiſſion the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in that Caſe, whom they deſign'd to deprive of Part of his Juriſdiction, the Court of *Rome* eaſily obtain'd the King of *Mercia*'s Conſent to receive *Italian Legates*, in order to bring the Matter to a good Iſſue. This firſt Inſtance however was not follow'd by any other till the time of *Edward the Confeſſor*, that is, for above 250 Years. In the Reign of that Prince, *Stigand*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, lying under the *Church*'s Cenſures, the Pope took Occaſion from thence to ſend into *England* two *Legates*, to execute a Commiſſion, which *Stigand* cou'd not be charg'd with. *William the Conqueror*, wanting to get rid of this ſame *Stigand* and ſome other Biſhops that were troubleſome to him, ſent himſelf for *Legates*, to preſide at a *Council*, wherein he deſign'd to have theſe Prelates depos'd. 'Tis thus that Princes, to gratify their Paſſions, have all along been ſubſervient to the Growth of the *Papal* Power, without troubling themſelves about the Conſequences of it. We find moreover that in the ſame Reign, *Gregory* VII. ſent a *Legate* into *England* call'd *Hubert*. But as this was done on Account of ſome Political Affairs,

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the *Engliſh* were not alarm'd at it, never imagining that ſuch a *Legateſhip* cou'd any Ways tend to their Prejudice. But the Court of *Rome* had other Thoughts of the Matter. In Proceſs of Time, theſe few *Precedents* were deem'd a ſufficient Ground to build a Right upon of ſending *Legates*, whenever the Pope ſhou'd think fit. This Right however lay dormant during the Reigns of the two *Williams*, the Temper and Character of theſe Princes affording the *Popes* no room to hope for Succeſs in their Attempts to put it in Practice.

Henry I. was hardly warm in his Throne, when the *Pope* ſent *Guido* Archbiſhop of *Vienne* to reſide at *London*, with a *Legantine* Power over all *Great-Britain*. The *Clergy* of *England* look'd upon this Commiſſion as a ſtriking at their Privileges, neither cou'd the King and *Council* be prevail'd upon by former *Precedents* to allow the *Legate* to exereiſe any Part of his Function in the Kingdom. *Alford* the Jeſuit, who has writ the *Eccleſiaſtical* Hiſtory of *England*, plainly perceiving the great Difficulty of reconciling this Refuſal with the Pope's Authority, is forc'd to have Recourſe to a precarious Suppoſition in order to clear this Point. He will have it that the *Legate*'s Commiſſion was rejected, becauſe his *Powers* were not penn'd with a *Non obſtante* to the Privileges of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. But as he cites no Authorities to make good his Aſſertion, we are not oblig'd to believe him on his bare Word. Cardinal *Baronius* gets over this Affair more dextrouſly, by taking no Notice at all of this *Legateſhip*.

Henry I. had ſome further Conteſts with the Court of *Rome* upon the ſame Occaſion. *Paſchal* II. having ſent into *France* a *Legate*, call'd *Cono*, this Prelate conven'd ſeveral *Councils*, at which he pretended that the Biſhops of *Normandy* were oblig'd to be preſent; upon their Refuſing to obey his Summons, he excommunicated them. *Henry*, offended at the *Legate*'s Raſhneſs, ſent the Biſhop of *Exeter* to complain of it to the Pope. In all likelihood he had ſome Satisfaction made him, ſince the Hiſtorian, who mentions this Particular, ſays not a Word of the Succeſs of the Embaſſy.

Palmer.

In

In the Year 1116 King *Henry* being in *Normandy*, Abbot *Anſelm*, Nephew to the Archbiſhop of the ſame Name, came to him and produc'd a Commiſſion from the Pope for *Legate* in *England*. But the King wou'd not ſuffer him to paſs over thither in that Character. The *Engliſh* Biſhops, whom the King conſulted on that Occaſion, unanimouſly declar'd, that this *Legateſhip* was deſtructive of the Privileges of the *Church of England*. They deſir'd the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, as the Perſon moſt concern'd in this Matter, to wait upon the King with their Anſwer, and in caſe the King ſhou'd think proper, to go on to *Rome* to remonſtrate againſt theſe Encroachments. The Archbiſhop accordingly prepar'd for a Journey to *Rome*. But he ſtopp'd ſhort on the Road, being inform'd that the Pope, hard preſs'd by the Arms of the Emperor, was retir'd to *Beneventum*. He contented himſelf therefore with acquainting him, by a Letter, with what he deſign'd to have told him by Word of Mouth. The Circumſtances of Pope *Paſchal*'s Affairs at that time wou'd not permit him to inſiſt on his pretended Right, as he wou'd no doubt have done at any other time. He was unwilling to diſoblige the *Engliſh*: but on the other Side, he cou'd not reſolve to give up the Privilege of ſending *Legates*, when he ſhou'd judge it neceſſary. He choſe therefore to return an ambiguous Anſwer, which without binding him to any thing, might afford them a ſeeming Satisfaction. This Anſwer, which was not directly to the Point, was not Satisfactory to the Biſhops. But the King, laying hold on the Juncture the Pope's Affairs were in, underſtood it in a ſenſe the moſt favorable to the *Church of England*, and prevented the *Legate* from executing his Commiſſion. In the mean time, as he was very ſenſible that the Pope's Anſwer was couch'd in too general Terms to be able from thence to infer that he deſiſted from his Pretenſions, he demanded a more preciſe one. At an interview ſome time after with *Calixtus* II. at *Giſors*, he very earneſtly preſs'd the Pope on this Head: but to no Purpoſe. All the Satisfaction he cou'd obtain was, that the Pope gave his Word not to ſend

any

any more *Legates* into *England, except in a Caſe of Neceſſity*

Some Years after, *Honorius* II. ſent Cardinal *John de Creme* into *England* with the Character of *Legate*. However 'twas not without a great deal of Difficulty that he was receiv'd as ſuch, after having been made to wait a long time in *Normandy*. This *Legate* ſummon'd a Council at *London*, of which I have elſewhere ſpoken, on account of the Prieſt's Marriages. In his *Summons* to the Biſhops, he ſays in expreſs words, that this *Council* was conven'd by the *Order* and *Concurrence* of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. This appears by a *Citation* ſtill extant, addreſs'd to the Biſhop of *Landaff*. Tho' the
Gerv. *Legate* might plainly ſee that his Coming was not very acceptable to the *Engliſh*, he affected in the Exerciſe of his Function, a haughty Demeanour, which very much increas'd their Diſlike. He wou'd officiate in the Cathedral of *Canterbury* in the Place of the Archbiſhop, tho' he was only a *Presbyter*. In the *Council* of *London*, he order'd his Seat to be rais'd, like a ſort of a Throne, above the two Archbiſhops and all the Nobility that were preſent at the *Synod*. This proud Carriage gave great offence to the *Engliſh*, who were not wont to ſee the Pope's *Legates* exalted ſo High. They openly ſhow'd their Regret at having condeſcended ſo far to this *Legate*, well knowing of what dangerous Conſequence *Precedents* were in Matters which the Court of *Rome* had any Intereſt in. However this did not prevent in the Reign of *Stephen*, *Alberic* Biſhop of *Oſtia* from being receiv'd in *England* in quality of *Legate*. *Stephen* was not firmly enough ſeated on his Throne to dare to diſoblige the Court of *Rome*.

During this Reign, the Pope conferr'd the Dignity of *Legate* on the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, Brother to the King, to the Prejudice of *Theobald* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. This Diſtinction occaſion'd between the two Prelates a Conteſt, which the Court of *Rome* made great Advantage of. On this Account it was, that the two Parties frequently appeal'd to *Rome*, a Thing but very rarely practis'd

tis'd in *England* before. At length, after long Bickerings, the *Legateſhip* was taken from the Biſhop of *Winchester* by Pope *Celeſtine* II. and given to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, not as his Right, but as the Free Gift of the *Holy See*. In this Manner it is that the Popes knew how to make the Beſt of every Thing that ſerved to extend their Authority. It will manifeſtly appear in the Courſe of this Hiſtory, that I have not without reaſon dwelt thus long on the Article of *Legates*. 'Twas chiefly owing that in ſome of the following Reigns, *England* was made liable to a thouſand Diſturbances by the Popes.

Schiſms.

The Court of *Rome* wou'd no doubt have run greater Lengths in her Uſurpations, if the *Schiſms*, which were very frequent in thoſe Days, had not caus'd her to loſe a great deal of Ground. To gain or to preſerve the Obedience of the *Chriſtian* Princes, the Popes were often fain to paſs by abundance of Things, which they wou'd not have done at any other Juncture. But when they cou'd not help making Conceſſions to their own Diſadvantage, they ſeldom fail'd of adding ſome *ambiguous Clauſe*, by the Means of which they explain'd them in their own Favour, at a more proper Seaſon. I have related an Inſtance of This in *Calixtus* II. when he promis'd to ſend no more *Legates* into *England*, *except in Caſe of Neceſſity*: For the Popes themſelves were afterwards Judges when 'twas neceſſary. If all the Kings had been like the two *Williams*, they wou'd have put their own Conſtruction upon theſe *Clauſes*. But as ſome of them were *weak* or *ſuperſtitious*, and as the others, that had more Reſolution and Firmneſs, were often embroil'd in Troubles, which oblig'd them to keep fair with *Rome*, the *Popes* never fail'd of taking the Advantage of theſe Junctures. We are now going to ſee in what Manner the four firſt *Norman* Kings behav'd with regard to the *Pope*, during the *Schiſms* which happen'd in their Reigns.

England had acknowledg'd *Gregory* VII. who came to the *Papacy* in the Reign of *William the Conqueror*. And yet the Election of the Antipope *Clement* III. was no ſooner over, but *William* reſolv'd to ſtand *Neuter*, till the

Affair was decided. On Account of this *Schiſm* it was, that he forbad his Subjects to own any Pope without his Leave. This Neutrality of the *Engliſh* evidently appears from *Lanfranc*'s Anſwer to Cardinal *Hugo Candidus*, who ſollicited him to ſide with *Clement* III. The Letter runs thus in *Baronius*.

Baron. Ann. 1092.

" I receiv'd your Letter, but can by no means approve " of ſome Part of the *Contents*. Your Invectives againſt " *Gregory*, whom you affect to call *Hildebrand*, and the " odd Names you give his *Legates*, is what I don't under- " ſtand. On the other Hand, your exceſſive Commen- " dations of *Clement*, and the extraordinary Character " you give him, is carrying Matters too far. It is writ- " ten, *We are not to pronounce a Man happy before his Death*, " neither are we to detract from our Neighbour. The " Merit of Men is a Thing that lies out of Sight: And " therefore we cannot pronounce with Truth upon their " future Condition. However I am perſwaded that the " Emperour wou'd not have embark'd in ſo great an Un- " dertaking, without going upon good Grounds; and " that he cou'd not have proſper'd thus far, without the " ſignal Bleſſing of the *Almighty*. As for the Voyage " you deſign to take into *England*, I wou'd not adviſe " you to it, unleſs the King's Leave can be firſt obtain'd. " For as yet we have not entirely diſclaim'd *Gregory*, nor " declar'd for his Competitor. But when the Cauſe of both " Sides ſhall be throughly examin'd, we ſhall then be better " able to come to a Reſolution in the Caſe.

Gregory VII was ſucceeded by *Victor* III, who died in 1087, about a year before *William the Conqueror*. *Urban* II. was choſen in his Room, and quickly after *William Rufus* aſcended the Throne of *England*, whilſt the *Schiſm* ſtill continued between *Urban* and *Clement*. It may be ſaid that for ſome Years the *Engliſh* were without a *Pope*, ſince they recognis'd neither the one nor the other of the two Competitors. When *Anſelm* wou'd, by his own private Authority, have own'd *Urban* II. *William* oppos'd it, 'till by a Stratagem, which I ſhall mention hereafter, *Urban* gain'd him over to his Obedience. This

Step

Step being made, *England* remain'd under the Juriſdiction of this Pope and his Succeſſors, *Paſchal* II, *Gelaſius* II, and *Honorius* II. After the Death of this laſt, a freſh *Schiſm* was ſet on Foot, by the double Election of *Innocent* II, and *Anacletus*. Theſe two Popes having each their Adherents, divided all *Europe*. *Innocent* ſtood in need of all the Credit and Eloquence of St. *Bernard* to get himſelf acknowledg'd in *France*, where he had a ſtrong Party againſt him. It was a long while before this Kingdom as well as *England* declar'd for either of the Rivals, ſo very difficult was it to judge which of them had the beſt Title. Each alledg'd his Reaſons, which ſerv'd rather to deſtroy his Adverſary's, than eſtabliſh his own Right. We may eaſily gueſs, that whilſt People were in this Uncertainty about the true Pope, they had Recourſe to neither: The which makes a *Gap* or *Chaſm* very puzzling to ſuch as maintain that the *Church* can't poſſibly make Shift without a *Pope*.

If the Popes loſt Ground by theſe *Schiſms*, the Loſs was amply made up by the *Cruſades*, which furniſh'd them with Opportunities of extending their Authority. 'Tis not to my Purpoſe to examine here what Right the Chriſtian Princes of *Europe* had to *Paleſtin*, which the *Saracens* had conquer'd from the Emperors of *Conſtantinople*. It ſuffices to ſay, that the Project of wreſting from the Hands of the *Infidels* the Country bedew'd with the Blood of *Chriſt*, ſeem'd ſo noble and meritorious, that all the Princes of *Chriſtendom* took a Pride in helping it on with their Wealth, and Troops, and ſome with their Perſons. The People in Imitation of their Sovereigns, blindly engag'd in this Undertaking upon *Peter the Hermit*'s * ſetting forth the Miſeries to which the Chriſtians in *Paleſtin* were expos'd under the Empire of the *Saracens*. *Urban* II. Cruſades.

* He was a *French* Prieſt, and had travell'd in Pilgrimage to the *Holy Land*, where he was extremely affected with the Miſeries the Chriſtians endur'd. He pretended that our Saviour appear'd to him in a Dream, and commanded him to go and engage the *Weſtern Chriſtians* to undertake their Deliverance, promiſing him Succeſs.

was the first that laid the Scheme of uniting all the Christians in *Europe* in a Confederacy to deliver their Brethren in the *East* from Servitude, and to that Purpose, preach'd up in 1095, the first *Crusade* at the *Council* of *Clermont*. His Exhortations made so wonderful an Impression on his Hearers, that in a short Time was seen marching towards *the Holy Land* a prodigious Army, the Success of which is known to all the World. The *Saracens* were driven out of *Palestin*, and a Christian Kingdom founded, which lasted not above fourscore and ten years. The *Infidels* becoming Masters of the Country again, the Popes never ceas'd stirring up the *Christians* to recover what the *Church* had lost in that Quarter of the World. This occasion'd several fresh *Crusades*, which procur'd the Popes many Priviledges. In the first Place, as they declar'd themselves the *Heads* of these Expeditions, they took into their Protection all those that were willing to embark in them. By this Means they had an Opportunity of intermedling in all Affairs, their being few of any Moment, but what some one of the *Croises* was concern'd in. In the second Place, as these Expeditions cou'd not be undertaken without an immense Expence, the *Popes* made them a Handle to impose on the *Clergy*, under the name of *Tenths*, Taxes, of which they had the sole Disposal. In the next Place, after once they were in possession of the Privilege of publishing a *Crusade*, whenever they thought fit, they drew a Consequence from thence of which they made great Use. They pretended that the Extirpation of *Hereticks* tended as much to the Glory of God as that of Infidels. Now as they assum'd to themselves the Power of judging what was *Heresy*, the moment any Prince offer'd to make a stand against their Encroachments, they presently pronounc'd him *Heretick*, excommunicated him, and publish'd a *Crusade* against him. Of this we shall meet with several remarkable Instances in the Course of this History. It is no wonder then that the *Popes* stirr'd up and fomented this *Frentick* Zeal for *Crusades*, since they turn'd it so much to their Advantage. Thanks be to God, the blind and inconsiderate Ardour of Christi-

Christians on this Score has been extinguish'd several Ages since.

The Councils during the four Reigns.

In Proportion to the Growth of the *Pope*'s Authority, the Power of the Bishops, Archbishops, *Provincial* or *National* Synods, visibly decreas'd. The Reason is, because their Decrees and Canons were liable to be made *null* and *void* upon the least Appeal to the Pope. Accordingly in the Interval I am now going thro', we meet with but very few *Councils* worth taking Notice of.

Synod of Winchester.

The First was held at *Winchester* in 1070. *Hermenfred*, Bishop of *Cisteron*, *John* and *Peter*, Cardinal Priests, presided as the Pope's Legates. As nothing of Moment was transacted in this *Synod* besides the depriving *Stigand* and some other Bishops, it is needless to say any more of it. I shall only take Occasion from this Council to remark, that in those days a *Bishop* had the Pre-eminence of a *Cardinal*, since in the Acts of this *Synod*, the Bishop of *Cisteron* is always nam'd before the Cardinals his Collegues. Spond.

Council of London.

In 1075, *Lanfranc* call'd a *Synod* at *London*, wherein it was ordain'd, that for the Time to come, *Provincial* and *Dioceſan* Synods shou'd be held more frequently, the Use of them having been intermitted ever since *the Conqueſt*. The *Precedency* of the *Sees* was also regulated by the Decrees of the VIth Council of *Toledo* and some others, and every Prelate was to take Place according to the Priority of his Ordination. It was agreed, that at *Councils*, the Archbishop of *York* shou'd be seated on the *Right*, and the Bishop of *London* on the *Left* Hand of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishop of *Winchester* next the Archbishop of *York*. Some *Canons* were also pass'd, the most remarkable are as follow.

The Vth forbids all Persons, Bishops and Abbots excepted, to speak in the *Councils* without Leave from the President.

By the VIth, Marriage is prohibited to the seventh *Degree*, for which the Authority of *Gregory the Great* is vouch'd. But we have seen that according to the Testimony of *Bede*, this Pope in his Answers to *Austin*'s Questi-

Queſtions limits the Prohibition to the ſecond *Degree* only.

The VIIth is againſt *Simony*. This *Canon* for ſome Time had paſs'd in all the *Councils*. In all Appearance this Diſorder was become very common; or perhaps 'twas in order to prepare the *Clergy* to receive the Prohibition of taking the Inveſtiture of *Benefices* from the Hands of Laymen, to which *Simony* ſerv'd as a Pretence.

The VIIIth is levell'd againſt *Sorcery* and *Divination*, and the like ſuperſtitious Practices.

By the XIth no *Eccleſiaſtick* is to give his Vote to ſentence a Perſon to dye, or to loſe his Limbs.

In the following year 1076, the ſame Archbiſhop conven'd a *Synod* on Account of the Prieſt's Marriages.

Rockingham *Synod.* In 1094, a *Synod* was held at *Rockingham* on Occaſion of the Conteſt between *William Rufus* and *Anſelm*.

National Synod at London. Eight years after, in 1102, in the Reign of *Henry* I. *Anſelm* ſummon'd a *national Synod*, to which the *Temporal* Lords were invited, to be Witneſſes of the Proceedings. Some *Canons* were paſs'd, the Principal of which are:

The Iſt againſt *Simony*.

The IVth forbids *Archdeacons*, *Prieſts*, *Deacons*, and *Canons* to marry, or to live with their Wives already married. This was the firſt general Prohibition againſt the *Engliſh* Prieſts keeping their Wives, the which was diſapprov'd of by a great many People.

By the VIth, Sons of Prieſts were not to ſucceed to their Father's Churches.

The IXth enjoins the Prieſts to have open *Crowns*, that the *Tonſure* might be the more apparent.

The XIIIth forbids the Abbots to make *Knights*, tho' they had till then enjoy'd that Privilege.

The XIVth declares all Promiſes of Marriage made without Witneſs to be void, in caſe either of the Parties denies the Engagement.

The XVth forbids *Monks* or *Nuns* to be Godfathers or Godmothers.

The XVIIth confirms the Prohibition of marrying within the ſeventh *Degree*.

The

The XVIIIth forbids the Burying the *Dead* out of their Pariſh.

The XIXth thunders out *Anathema*'s againſt ſuch as ſold *Men* like *Horſes*. Notwithſtanding this *Canon*, the Lords of *Mannors* ſtill retain'd the Right of *Villainage*, that is, of ſelling their *Villains*, who were conſider'd as a Sort of Slaves *.

The XXth was againſt *Sodomy*. 'Tis remarkable, that it never came into their Heads to make *Canons* againſt this Crime, till the *Clergy* were oblig'd to *Celibacy*, it being ſcarce heard of in *England* before.

I have ſpoken elſewhere of the Council held in 1125, on the Score of the Prieſts Marriages, in which Cardinal *John de Crema* preſided.

In 1127 *William Corbet*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* held a Synod at *Weſtminſter*, wherein he preſided as the Pope's Legate. The moſt conſiderable of the *Canons* that were paſs'd are Theſe: *The Council at* Weſtminſter.

The IIId forbids the taking Money for the receiving *Monks* and *Nuns* into *Religious Houſes*.

The VIth forbids a *Plurality* of Archdeacons, under the Penalty of Excommunication.

The VIIth makes it unlawful for *Eccleſiaſticks* to turn *Farmers*.

The VIIIth enjoins the exact Payment of *Tithes*, and calls them, *the Demeſnes of the moſt High*.

In 1138, *Alberic*, the Pope's Legate, conven'd a *Synod* of 17 Biſhops and 30 Abbots. But this which was ſummon'd only to chuſe an Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and ſeveral others, in the Reign of *Stephen*, aſſembled on ſome Political Account, have nothing in them worth noting.

Seeing, after *the Conqueſt*, we find the Names of ſome Biſhopricks to diſappear, and others unknown in the *Saxon* Times to come in their Room, 'twill not be improper juſt to mention thoſe Alterations, in order to avoid the Obſcurity that may from thence ariſe. *Tranſlations of the* Sees.

In

* See Note p. 153.

In 1075, the *See* of *Shirborn* was remov'd to *Salisbury*: That of *Selcey* to *Chicheſter*, and That of *Lichfield* to *Cheſter*.

In 1092, in the Reign of *William Rufus*, the *See* of *Dorcheſter* was remov'd to *Lincoln*, and the *See* of *Wells* to *Bath*. The Popes were not well pleas'd with theſe Removals, being done without asking their Leave. *Paſchal* II. loudly complain'd of it to *Henry* I. but as there was then a *Schiſm* on Foot, he durſt not puſh the matter any further.

Ely *made a Biſhop's See*;

In 1108, in the Reign of *Henry* I. *Ely-Monaſtery* was erected into a Biſhoprick, with the Approbation of the Pope, and Conſent of the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, who reſign'd up Part of his *Dioceſe*, in order to have it chang'd into this new Biſhoprick.

and Carliſle.

In this ſame Reign *Carliſle*, call'd by the *Romans*, *Luguballia*, which had been deſtroyed by the *Danes*, and rebuilt by *William Rufus*, was made an *Epiſcopal See*, *Adelwalt* being the firſt Biſhop. This Dioceſe was taken from that of *Durham*.

A Project of erecting Winchester *into an Arch-biſhoprick.*

We find in *Anglia-Sacra* and the Hiſtory of the Church of *Wincheſter* by *Rudburn*, that in 1144, Pope *Lucius* ſent the *Pall* to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* Brother to King *Stephen*, with a Deſign to erect that *See* into an Archbiſhoprick, and annex to it the ſeven *Dioceſes* of the Kingdom of *Weſſex*. But this Proceeding being generally diſlik'd, and the Biſhop, fearing he ſhou'd meet with too ſtrong an Oppoſition, put off till another Time the Execution of his Project, which came to nothing by the Death of *Lucius*.

Abbies.

Battle-Abbey was founded by *William the Conqueror*, as hath been related in his Life. In 1101, *Henry* I. founded the Monaſtery of *Clarkenwell*, and the Priory of St. *John of Jeruſalem*. The Abbey of *Reading* was alſo of this King's Founding.

New Orders of Monks.

Towards the End of the 11th or in the Beginning of the 12th *Century*, were inſtituted the *Orders* of the *Carthuſians**, *Ciſter-*

* So call'd from *Chartreuſe* in *Grenoble*, where they were firſt eſtabliſh'd

Ciſtercians * and *Premonſtratenſes* *1 who afterwards ſettled in *England*. To theſe may be added the *Regular Canons* reform'd by *Ivo* of *Chartres* in 1098 *2.

Diſpute about Tranſubſtantiation.

Amongſt the remarkable Occurences in the *Church* during the four Reigns we are going thro', the famous Controverſy about the *Holy Euchariſt* is by no means to be paſs'd over in Silence. Tho' it made not ſo much Noiſe in *England* as it did in *France*; yet as it is a Point wherein the whole *Church* was and ſtill is greatly concern'd, 'twill not be improper to give a brief Account of the Riſe and Progreſs of this Diſpute.

Towards the latter End of the Eighth *Century*, *Faſchaſius Radbert*, a Monk of *Corbey*, had publiſh'd a Treatiſe, wherein he aſſerted that the *Bread* in the *Euchariſt* was the *ſame Body* of Chriſt that was born of the *Virgin*, and that the *Wine* was the *ſame Blood* which was ſhed on the Croſs. This Opinion ſeem'd to be entirely *New* to ſeveral learned Men, who vigorouſly and ſharply wrote againſt him. *Johannes Scotus*, Sirnam'd *Erigena*, that is, of *Iriſh* Extraction, *Raban* Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, and *Bertram* the Monk, were the principal Oppoſers of this Doctrine. On the other Side, there were ſome that wrote in its Defence. Without entering into the Arguments

bliſh'd in 1086 by one *Bruno* of *Cologn*, Canon of *Rheims*. They are ſaid to ſettle in *England* in 1180. They follow'd St. *Bennet*'s Rule.

* They had their Name from *Ciſtercium* or *Cîteaux* in the Dioceſe of *Chalons*, where they firſt aſſembled under *Harding* an *Engliſhman*, in 1097. St. *Bernard* was ſoon after receiv'd into their Society, whence they were ſtil'd *Bernardines*. Theſe refin'd alſo upon St. *Bennet*'s Rule They came hither in 1128, and were firſt ſettled in the Abbey of *Waverly* in *Surrey*.

*1 This *Order* was founded by St. *Norbert* of a Noble Family in *Cologn*, in 1120, at a Place ſaid to be pointed out to him by the *Bleſſed Virgin*, thence call'd *Premonſtratum*, that is, *Foreſhown*. They were brought into *England* in 1146 and ſettled at *Newhouſe* in *Lincolnſhire*. They follow'd the *Rule* of St. *Auguſtin*.

*2 The *Canons* were diſtinguiſh'd into *Regular* and *Secular*, the Firſt reforming upon the Laſt, gave them that Name by way of Reproach. They pretended to receive their *Rules* from St. *Auguſtin*.

of both Parties, I ſhall content my ſelf with making two Remarks on this Diſpute. The Firſt is, that, if *Chriſtians* had all along been of *Paſchaſius*'s Opinion, 'tis hard to conceive, why ſo many Perſons of Learning ſhou'd have look'd upon his Doctrine as a *Novelty*. In the ſecond Place, it muſt be confeſt, that *Paſchaſius*'s Notion prevail'd in ſuch a Manner over the other, after the VIIIth *Century*, that when the Controverſy was reviv'd, 200 Years after, the Doctrine contrary to *Paſchaſius*'s had generally the Imputation of *Novelty* fix'd upon it.

This Diſpute being at length dropp'd, either becauſe People were tir'd with it, or becauſe their Minds were taken up with other Matters, it lay dormant for near 200 Years. In 1035, *Berengarius*, Archdeacon of *Angers*, who had a great Character for his *Learning*, perceiving that *Paſchaſius*'s Opinion gain'd ground, attempted to put a Stop to its Progreſs. He publiſh'd a quite contrary Doctrine, and was ſuffer'd to go on in it for 12 or 15 Years, without any Oppoſition. The Firſt that attack'd him was, *Adelman* a Prebend of *Liege*, and afterwards *Bedwin* Biſhop of the ſame Church, who endeavour'd to make him alter his Sentiments.

Baſnage Hiſt. de l'Egliſe.

In the mean time, *Berengarius* held a Correſpondence with *Lanfranc*, who was then Abbot of St. *Stephen*'s in *Caen*. The Subject of their Letters ran upon the Nature of the *Euchariſt*. *Lanfranc* maintain'd *Paſchaſius*'s Opinion, and *Berengarius*, on the contrary, vindicated the Doctrine that he himſelf had lately publiſh'd. One of *Berengarius*'s Letters happening to fall into the Hands of Pope *Leo* IX *, he thought fit to call a *Council* upon that Account. *Berengarius* was condemn'd for differing from the Common Opinion, and for alledging, in his Letter, the ſame Arguments that *Scotus* had formerly made uſe of againſt *Paſchaſius*. *Lanfranc*, who was preſent at the *Synod*, was oblig'd to purge himſelf of the Suſpicion of holding too cloſe a Correſpondence with this pretended *Heretick*,

* 'Twas directed to *Lanfranc* in *Normandy*; but he being gone to *Rome*, 'twas ſent, by ſome Adverſary, to the Pope.

Heretick. However, as *Berengarius* had been condemned unheard, the Pope held another *Synod* at *Verceil*, and ſummon'd him to appear. He came not in Perſon, but ſent two *Eccleſiaſticks* to make his Defence, who, as *Lanfranc* teſtifies, gave up their Maſter's Cauſe. *Berengarius* then was condemn'd a ſecond time, and *Scotus*'s Book, from whence he had borrow'd his Arguments, was involv'd in the ſame *Sentence*. Inſtead of ſubmitting to the Deciſions of theſe two *Synods*, *Berengarius* went on in the Juſtification of *Scotus*, and dropp'd ſome Satyrical Expreſſions againſt *Paſchaſius*, the Pope, and the Church of *Rome*. His Arguments appear'd ſo convincing, that ſeveral openly declar'd for his Opinion, and even wrote in his Defence. 'Tis true indeed all thoſe *Writings* were ſuppreſs'd: but the Fact is for all that no leſs certain. An antient Author remarks, that all *France* was in a Combuſtion on account of *Berengarius*, abundance of learned Men diſputing *for* and *againſt* him both by Word of Mouth and in Writing. Segebert.

The Doctrine of *Berengarius* muſt needs have ſpread it ſelf in ſeveral Places, ſince *Victor* II, *Leo*'s Succeſſor, thought it neceſſary to hold another *Council* at *Tours*, to decide this Controverſy. *Berengarius* not being able to avoid appearing at this *Synod* held in his Neighbourhood, 'tis given out, that he durſt not maintain his Opinion, but acquieſc'd in the Sentiments of the two former *Councils*. But we have only his Adverſaries Word for this. However, if he did recant, he repented of it afterwards, and continued, as before, to maintain his Opinion. Upon which he was cited by *Stephen* X. to a *Council* held at *Rome* in 1059. *Berengarius* appear'd, and if we may believe the Hiſtorians we have left, the greateſt Part of whom were his bitter Enemies, he durſt not defend his Cauſe. He even ſubſcrib'd a *Writing*, wherein they make him ſay, that *the Body of* Jeſus Chriſt *was handled in a ſenſible Manner by the Prieſts, and ground by the Teeth of the Communicants*. And afterwards, they compell'd him by their Threats, to burn with his own Hand's *Scotus*'s Book, from whence they pretended he had ſuck'd his

Errors. It must be obſerv'd, tho' ſome have affirm'd that he durſt not defend his Cauſe, there are Others who aſſure us, that he diſputed a good while with *Lanfranc* and *Alberic* a Monk of *Mount Caſſin*. However, his ſigning the *Writing* was not ſo much owing to his Adverſaries Arguments, as to his being over-aw'd by their Threats. *You did not do it,* (ſays *Lanfranc* to him in one of his Letters) *for the ſake of Truth, but to avoid the Death you were threatned with.* Accordingly we find afterwards that his *Heart* conſented not to what his *Hand* had done, ſince, notwithſtanding his many Recantations, he went on in his old Opinion, to his dying day.

* 1063. In 1073 * a *Council* was held at *Roan* upon the ſame Account, and another at *Poictiers*, in 1075. *Berengarius* was preſent at the latter of theſe, and ran ſome risk of loſing his Life, the which ſerv'd only to give him a worſe Opinion of the other Party. At leaſt *Gregory* VII. being come to the *Papacy*, and having a Mind wholly to put an End to this Controverſy, which was ſo often renew'd, held a *Council* at *Rome* in 1079. Before the Opening of the *Synod*, he proclaim'd a *Faſt* for 30 Days, in order to beſeech God, that he wou'd be pleas'd to grant this *Council* the *Grace* to find out the Truth. 'Tis ſomewhat ſtrange, that after ſo many Deciſions, conformable, as they pretend, to the Doctrine of the *Church* in all Ages, they ſhou'd ſtill be in Suſpence what to believe in this Matter. *Berengarius* made his Appearance, and ſign'd a Recantation more *full* and *explicite* than any of the former ones. He declares, that *the Bread and Wine in the Sacrament, are ſubſtantially chang'd, by the miraculous Operation of the Words of our Saviour, into the true, viſible, and living Body of* Jeſus Chriſt, *not Figuratively, and Sacramentally, but truly, properly, and ſubſtantially.* This Recantation was as far from cauſing him to alter his Mind, as thoſe he had made before. This appears from his being cited once more to a *Council* at *Bourdeaux*, where he appear'd and was condemn'd. He paſs'd the reſt of his Life in Retirement [near *Tours*] where he died in peace in 1088.

Theſe

These Particulars afford Matter for several Reflections. In the first Place, If the Doctrine of *Berengarius* was manifestly contrary to the Belief of the *Universal Church*, ever since the time of the Apostles, one can't but be surpris'd, that there shou'd be Occasion for so many *Councils* on this Score. In the second Place, the summoning so great a Number of *Councils*, is a clear Evidence that *Berengarius*'s Opinion was spread far and wide, since so much Pains were taken to stop its Progress. 3. 'Tis no less to be wonder'd at, that neither *Berengarius* nor any of the Bishops and other Ecclesiasticks his Friends, were ever *depriv'd*. If *Berengarius* had sincerely recanted, 'twou'd be no hard Matter to guess at the Reason of his being so favourably dealt with by the *Popes* and *Councils*. But, besides that his frequent Recantations might make it to be fairly presum'd, that the *Last* was no more sincere than his former ones, there are very strong Proofs of his dying in his old Opinion. And indeed, notwithstanding his recanting, *Lanfranc* look'd upon him all along as one engag'd in *Schism*. An Anonymous Author, who wrote eight Years after his last Recantation, treats him as a *Heretick* *. An evident Sign, that he went out of the World in his pretended Error. 'Tis true *Malmsbury* affirms, that *Berengarius* died a *Catholick*, that is, in the Sentiments of the Church of *Rome*. But he was led into this Mistake, either by believing his last Recantation real, or from the honorable *Epitaph Hildebrand*, Bishop of *Mans*, made for him after his Death **. Without doubt *Malmsbury*, who has inserted this *Epitaph* in his History, cou'd not imagine that a Bishop wou'd give so great Commendations of a Man that was actually a *Heretick*.

Reflections on this Dispute.

Lastly, It may be further observ'd, that altho' the Account we have of *Berengarius* is from his Adversaries, yet several of them cou'd not forbear mentioning the prodigious Progress of his Doctrine in *Germany*, *Italy*, and particularly in *France*. As for *England*, 'tis no Wonder, that

* *Baronius* calls him a *Rotten Heretick*.

** He gives him a great Character for his *Learning* and *Morals*.

that this Controverſy made leſs Noiſe there than in other Countries. The *Revolution* that had juſt then happen'd in their Iſland, kept the Minds of the *Engliſh* intent upon other Matters. I ſhall cloſe my Remarks with obſerving, that the frequent Recantations of *Berengarius* were extremely prejudicial to his Doctrine. In an Age like that, few Perſons being capable of judging for themſelves in ſo intricate a Caſe, *Example* and *Precedent* ſway'd the Minds of Men more in this Matter than Knowledge and Conviction. Now it is certain, to all outward Appearance, *Berengarius* ſeem'd to be in the Wrong, by reaſon of the Care that was taken to give out, that he recanted not till after he was convinc'd of his Error. Not a Word was ſaid of the Threats that extorted his Recantations, tho' nothing was more certain, as appears by the Teſtimony of *Lanfranc* himſelf, taken Notice of above.

Moſt noted Eccleſiaſticks.

To finiſh what I have to ſay concerning the State of the *Church*, during the Reigns of the firſt four *Norman* Kings, nothing remains but to ſubjoin a brief Account of the moſt noted Biſhops and other *Eccleſiaſticks*.

Aldred.

Aldred, Archbiſhop of *York*, who crown'd *William the Conqueror*, was a good and pious Prelate. He had been Biſhop of *Gloceſter*, where he built the *Cathedral*. Afterwards he purchas'd ſeveral Eſtates, and annex'd them to his Archbiſhoprick. He was likewiſe a great Benefactor to the Abbey of *Beverly*.

Altho' *Stigand*, according to the Pretenſions of the Court of *Rome*, intruded himſelf into the Archiepiſcopal See of *Canterbury*, and was upon that account ſuſpended by the Pope, yet he perform'd the Functions of a *Metropolitan*, during the Reigns of *Edward*, and *Harold*. If *William the Conqueror* refus'd to be crown'd by his Hand, 'twas purely to avoid a Rupture with the Court of *Rome*, for otherwiſe he treated that Prelate at firſt with a great deal of Diſtinction. When *Stigand* attended him into *Normandy*, the *Clergy* there, without regarding the Pope's *Cenſures*, paid him all the Reſpect due to his Rank and Dignity. In Proceſs of time, *the Conqueror* had quite other thoughts of him, and got him depri-

by the *Council* of *Winchester*. As ſoon as this Prelate was ſtrip'd of all his Preferments, the King having no Manner of Regard for him any longer, threw him into Priſon, in order to bring him to a Diſcovery where he had conceal'd his Treaſures, which were very conſiderable. But Nothing being able to wreſt this Secret from him, he ended his days in Priſon. After he was dead, they found about his Neck a little Key with a Note, which directed to the Place where his Money was lodg'd, which was all ſeiz'd to the King's Uſe. Brompton

Marianus Scotus, born in *Scotland* in 1028, being arriv'd at thirty Years of Age, retir'd to a Monaſtery at *Cologn*. He was afterwards remov'd to the Abbey of *Fulde*, where he wrote a general Hiſtory of *Europe* from the *Creation* to the Year of our Lord 1082. He died four Years after in 1086. The *Scotch* were at that time very well receiv'd in *Germany*, where a Prince of that Nation, that had ſerv'd under *Charlemain*, had founded 15 Monaſteries, whoſe Abbots were to be all *Scotchmen*. Marianus Scotus.

Wulſtan, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, had a great Character for his Piety, which ſome have carried too far. 'Tis pretended he wrought ſeveral Miracles as well in his Life-time as after his Death. It appears however that *Lanfranc* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* had no great Opinion of this Prelate's Merit, ſince he wou'd have got him depriv'd by a Synod for Inſufficiency and want of Learning. This makes it ſuſpected that *Wulſtan*'s chiefeſt Quality was his great Plainneſs and Simplicity, which they wou'd put off upon us for an extraordinary *Sanctity*. *Malmsbury*, who has writ his Life, relates a Particular, which plainly ſhows this Prelate had no ſmall conceit of his own Merit. As the Monks, who ſtood by at his Death, expreſs'd great Sorrow for the Loſs of him, he comforted them by aſſuring them, that they ſhou'd have in him a more powerful *Patron* and Friend after he was dead than whilſt he was alive. Wulſtan.

Lanfranc, whom I have had Occaſion to mention ſo often, was born at *Pavia*. After he had finiſh'd his Lanfranc.

Studies,

Studies, he turn'd *Monk*, and pitch'd upon the Abbey of *Bec* in *Normandy*, where he taught *Logick*, and gain'd a great Reputation. His frequent reproaching the reſt of the *Fraternity* for their Ignorance, was the Cauſe of his making his Fortune. The Monks having preferr'd a Complaint againſt him to *William the Baſtard*, who was then only Duke of *Normandy*, he was oblig'd to go to Court to purge himſelf. In his Converſation with the Duke, that Prince was ſo charm'd with his Merit, that inſtead of puniſhing him, as his Accuſers expected, he made him Abbot of St. *Stephen*'s at *Caen*, from whence he afterwards promoted him to the *See* of *Canterbury*. *Lanfranc*'s Credit, which was very great in the *Conqeror*'s Reign, fell to decay under *William Rufus*, tho' it was by his Intereſt that he made his way to the Throne. His Death, which happen'd ſoon after in 1089, ſav'd him, it may be, a great deal of Trouble and Vexation. He rebuilt the Church of *Canterbury*, which had been burnt by the *Danes* in Archbiſhop *Elphegus*'s time, and fix'd the Number of the *Monks* of St. *Auguſtin* at 150, which before was not limited. He gave them alſo a *Prior*, inſtead of a *Chorepiſcopus*. A famous Tryal, wherein he got the better of *Odo*, Biſhop of *Bayeux*, and Earl of *Kent*, put him in poſſeſſion of 25 *Manours*, which that Biſhop had ſeiz'd upon. He paſs'd for a great Stateſman as well as for an able and learned *Divine*. His *Commentary* on St. *Paul*'s *Epiſtles*, and his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, which is not extant, were Works of great Repute. But of all his *Writings*, his Treatiſe againſt *Berengarius*, *concerning the Body and Blood of* Jeſus Chriſt *in the Sacrament*, was the moſt remarkable. Notwithſtanding this Teſtimony of the Conformity of his Sentiments to thoſe of the *Roman Church*, *Gregory* VII wou'd fain have oblig'd him to come to *Rome* and give an Account of his *Faith*. He even gave him to underſtand, after ſeveral *Summons*, that he ſhou'd be ſuſpended, in caſe he came not to *Rome* within four Months. But *Lanfranc* never went, tho' he had time enough to have taken the Journey, ſeeing he did not die till eight Years after.

Anſelm,

Anſelm, who had been Abbot of *Bec* before he was Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was the moſt famous of all the *Engliſh* Biſhops, by reaſon of his Diſputes with *William Rufus* and *Henry* I. The firſt of theſe Conteſts being of little Conſequence, and having already taken Notice of what is material in it, I ſhall content my ſelf with relating one Circumſtance, which ſhows Pope *Urban*'s Addreſs to get himſelf own'd in *England*. Anſelm.

Clement the Anti-Pope being ſtill alive when *Urban* II. was choſen, *England* refus'd to acknowledge either of them for Pope. In the mean time, *Anſelm* falling at Variance with *William Rufus*, openly declar'd for *Urban*, contrary to the King's Will and Pleaſure. As their Quarrel grew higher and higher, the King ſought the Means how to humble him. To this Purpoſe, he let *Urban* underſtand, that if he wou'd ſend him the *Pall* deſign'd for *Anſelm*, that the Arch-biſhop might be oblig'd to receive it from him, he wou'd get him own'd for Pope in *England*. *Urban* liking the Propoſal, ſent over the Biſhop of *Alba*, to do as the King deſir'd. However the *Nuncio*, without ſaying a Word to the King of his having brought the *Pall*, only told him, that the Pope was ready to comply with his Requeſt, provided *England* wou'd acknowledge his Authority. Upon the Aſſurance of this, the King perform'd his Engagement. But when he had done this, and wanted to have *Anſelm*'s *Pall* in his Diſpoſal, the *Nuncio* told him, that the Thing was impracticable, becauſe *Anſelm* refus'd to receive the *Pall* from the Hands of a *Layman*. In this Manner was the King impos'd upon, and forc'd to agree, that the Archbiſhop ſhou'd take up the *Pall* himſelf from the Altar, where the *Nuncio* had laid it [by Conſent.] He never forgave the Archbiſhop who, as has been related, was oblig'd to go to *Rome*, and afterwards to retire to *Lyons*, where he remain'd till the King's Death.

During *Anſelm*'s ſtay at *Rome*, he was preſent at a *Council*, where it was decreed, that all *Eccleſiaſticks*, who for the time to come receiv'd the *Inveſtiture* of their *Benefices* from the *Hands* of a *Layman*, ſhou'd be excommunicated. *Conteſt between* Henry *and* Anſelm *about* Inveſtitures.

nicated. 'Twas in obedience to this Decree, that after his Return into *England* by *Henry*'s own Sollicitations, he refus'd to do Homage to that Prince, and to conſecrate the Biſhops that had been inveſted by the King. This Non-compliance was the Ground of a more important Diſpute than what he had been engag'd in with *William Rufus*, ſince the Point in queſtion was a *Prerogative*, which the Kings of *England* had been long poſſeſs'd of. However *Henry*, being willing to act with Caution, at a Time when the Court of *Rome* was grown very formidable by having got the Better of the Emperor, conſented that *Anſelm* ſhou'd ſend *Agents* to *Rome*, whilſt he himſelf diſpatch'd Ambaſſadors thither to plead his Cauſe, and perſwade the Pope to leave him in peaceable Poſſeſſion of his Right. *Paſchal* II. ſent Word, that he cou'd not grant the King a Thing which had been ſo expreſſly forbidden by ſeveral *Councils*. Notwithſtanding This, *Henry*, was firmly reſolv'd to ſtand by the Privilege he had receiv'd from his Predeceſſors. Accordingly, he commanded the Archbiſhop to do him *Homage*, and to conſecrate the Biſhops that had been inveſted after the uſual Manner. *Anſelm* made Anſwer, that he cou'd not obey the King without diſobeying the Pope and the Decrees of the *Synod* of *Rome*, to which he himſelf had given his Vote. *What's this to me*, reply'd the King, *is the Synod of* Rome *to deprive me of the Prerogative of my Predeceſſors? No, I will never ſuffer any Perſon, who refuſes me the Securities of a Subject, to enjoy Eſtates in my Dominions.* And then order'd the Archbiſhop to do as he requir'd, or to depart the Kingdom. *Anſelm* anſwer'd, he cou'd do neither; but wou'd go down to *Canterbury*, and there wait God's good Pleaſure. The King and Lords of the Council were ſhock'd at this Anſwer. After having debated the Matter, the Council was of Opinion, that the King ſhou'd not have ſo great Regard for *Anſelm* or the Pope himſelf, but ſhou'd drive the One out of the Kingdom, and diſengage himſelf from all Dependence on the Other. The King, not thinking it adviſeable to proceed to theſe Extremities of his own Head, ſummon'd a general Aſſembly or Parliament. He repreſented

ſented to them the Attempts of the Pope upon the Prerogatives of the Crown, and the Arrogance of the Archbiſhop, who behav'd to him, not as a Subject but as an Equal, or rather a Superior. Upon theſe Complaints, the *Aſſembly* agreed that *Anſelm* ſhou'd be allow'd a longer Term for Deliberation; That in the mean while the King ſhou'd ſend freſh Ambaſſadors to the Pope, to try to perſwade him to deſiſt in an amicable Manner from his Pretenſions. The Archbiſhop of *York*, and two other Biſhops were appointed for this Embaſſy, and were accompanied with two *Agents* for *Anſelm*. The Ambaſſadors had *Inſtructions* to offer the Pope this *Alternative:* Either to relax in the Point of *Inveſtitures*, or elſe be contented with the Baniſhment of *Anſelm*, the Loſs of the Obedience of the *Engliſh*, and of all the Profits accrewing from thence. When theſe Prelates had their *Audience* of the Pope, they repreſented to him the Danger he expos'd himſelf to in Caſe he refus'd to comply with the King. *Paſchal* made anſwer, that he wou'd not only loſe *England*, but his *Dignity* too, rather than abate the leaſt Jot in this Point. *Anſelm*'s Agents had likewiſe their *Audience* apart. When they departed, the Pope ſent two Letters by them, one for the King, wherein he exhorted him to drop his Claim to *Inveſtitures*, the other for *Anſelm*, in which he enjoin'd him to perſiſt in his Adherence to the *Cauſe* of Truth. The King, by no means reliſhing his Letter, wou'd not communicate it to the Lords. But *Anſelm* caus'd His to be publickly read.

In the mean time, the King's Ambaſſadors and *Anſelm*'s Agents differ'd very much in their Accounts by word of Mouth. The Biſhops declar'd, that the Pope, at a private *Audience*, told them, he was willing to indulge the King the Liberty of *Inveſtitures*, provided he wou'd in return give him Satisfaction in other Points: But that he durſt not openly declare ſo much, leaſt other Sovereigns ſhou'd claim the ſame Privilege. *Anſelm*'s Agents on the contrary proteſted that the Pope had ſaid nothing like it, and appeal'd for the Truth of what they aſſerted to the Letter he had ſent the Archbiſhop. What they alledged had

ſo much the more Weight for the King's refuſing to produce the Pope's Letter. However, there was no calling in Queſtion the Teſtimony of the Archbiſhop of *York* and the two other Biſhops, without charging them at the ſame Time with Falſhood and ſhameful Prevarication. *Anſelm* himſelf was ſomething at a Stand, ſince they appeal'd to the Pope for the Truth of what they deliver'd. In this Uncertainty, he thought it moſt adviſeable to prolong the Time, 'till he ſhou'd be better inform'd of the Pope's Intention. To this Purpoſe he offer'd to communicate with the Biſhops who had receiv'd *Inveſtiture* from the King, which till then he had refus'd to do, provided he ſhou'd not be oblig'd to conſecrate them, before he had heard from the Pope. This Temper having given the King and Council ſome Satisfaction, he had Time allow'd him to ſend freſh *Agents* to *Rome*.

Whilſt the *Agents* were at the Court of *Rome*, the King, who bore theſe Delays with Impatience, ſent to the Archbiſhop, to conſecrate the Three Biſhops *Elect*. *Anſelm* anſwer'd, He was ready to conſecrate one of the Three, who had refus'd to be inveſted by the King: But as for the Others, he cou'd not do it without the Pope's Conſent. Upon his declining the Office, the King commanded the Archbiſhop of *York* to perform the Solemnity. But the Biſhops who were to be conſecrated, renounc'd the Authority, and wou'd not ſubmit to it. This Regard for the Pope provok'd the King to that Degree, that he confiſcated all their Eſtates.

As ſoon as *Anſelm*'s Agents were return'd from *Rome*, the King went down to *Canterbury*, and ſent to the Archbiſhop to give him Satisfaction, unleſs he had a mind to provoke him to new Meaſures. *Anſelm* anſwer'd that he had receiv'd a Letter from the Pope, which he had not yet open'd, that he wou'd open it in his Preſence, and govern himſelf according to the Pope's Directions. *Henry*, inrag'd at the Preference the Archbiſhop all along gave to the Pope's Orders, reply'd, that the Buſineſs was not to know what the Pope enjoin'd, ſince he was not in a Humour to ſubmit his *Prerogatives* to his Determination.

How

However there was nothing to be done with the Archbiſhop, who remain'd firm to his Reſolution. At laſt *Henry*, having a mind to try all ways before he proceeded to other Meaſures, adviſ'd *Anſelm* himſelf to take a Journey to *Rome*, to ſee if he cou'd perſwade the Pope to relax. It was with much ado that he was perſwaded to This. But at length he was prevail'd upon, at the Requeſt of the Biſhops and Barons, who repreſented to him, that the Journey cou'd not poſſibly do him any Diſſervice.

As ſoon as he was arriv'd in *Normandy*, he open'd the Pope's Letter, wherein he found a flat Denial of all that the King's Ambaſſadors had reported. However he purſued his Journey to *Rome*, where he was quickly follow'd by *William Warelwaſt* the King's Ambaſſador, who had formerly been employ'd at the Court of *Rome* by *William Rufus*. The Ambaſſador being admitted to *Audience*, repreſented to the Pope, that he was in danger of loſing *England*, in caſe he perſiſted in endeavouring to deprive the King of his juſt *Prerogatives:* And added, that his Maſter was reſolv'd rather to loſe his Crown than part with the Right of *Inveſtitures*. *And I*, anſwer'd *Paſchal*, *will ſooner loſe my Life, than ſuffer the Church's Privileges to be thus uſurped.* This ſo poſitive an Anſwer having entirely broken off the Negotiation, the Ambaſſador ſet forward for *England*, and *Anſelm*, who durſt not return to his Church, went and ſtaid at *Lyons*.

This Attempt having fail'd, *Henry* ſent another Embaſſy to *Rome*. But nothing new was propos'd, it ſerv'd only to exaſperate the Pope, who excommunicated the Earl of *Mellent* and ſome other Lords of the Council. He even threatned *Henry* with the Church's *Cenſures*, but however declin'd putting them in Execution. In the mean Time, *Anſelm*, perceiving the Pope dilatory in his Proceedings, grew apprehenſive that he might continue in Exile a good while, and that ſooner or later the Pope and King might come to an Accommodation, which might end in his Downfal. To prevent This, he reſolv'd to ingage the Pope ſo deeply in the Affair, that there ſhou'd be no drawing back for him. To this Purpoſe he went

and

and made a Visit to *Adela*, Countess of *Blois*, *Henry*'s Sister, and told her, that after a great deal of Patience, he must now be forc'd to excommunicate the King, unless he wou'd forthwith desist from his Pretensions. *Adela* being extremely troubled at this Menace, set about procuring an Accommodation. To this End, She desir'd the King her Brother, who was then in *Normandy*, to come to her at the Castle of *l'Aigle*, where she design'd to bring *Anselm* along with her, that they might talk the Matter over together. At this Interview, Things began by the Means of the Countess of *Blois* to have a better Face. The King, fearing the Archbishop's Threats, treated him very civilly. *Anselm*, in return, shew'd greater Respect to the King than he had hitherto done. They had not been long together, before they perceiv'd in each other an equal Desire to put an End to the Contest in an honourable Manner. Thus dispos'd, they amicably sought the Means of making up Matters to each other's Satisfaction.

The King and Anselm *agree.*

As soon as they had agreed upon an Expedient, *Henry* sent *William de Warelwast* to the Pope, for his Approbation. *Paschal*'s Affairs were then in such a Situation that he did not care to break with *England*. He was hard press'd by the *Germans*, who, shortly after, compell'd him to fly for Refuge into *France*. Matters therefore were accommodated upon these Terms; The King was to renounce the Right of *Investitures*, and the Pope to give the Bishops and Abbots leave to do *Homage* to the King for their *Temporalities*. Thus the Pope and King extricated themselves out of this troublesome Business by a Method as just as it was natural, and which shou'd have been taken at First, if they had both acted fairly and honestly. This will evidently appear, if we impartially inquire into the State of the Question, which perhaps it may'n't be amiss to do, since this Affair formerly made so great a Noise, and in which *Anselm* was so deeply concern'd.

The true State of the Question.

In the first Place I shall lay down what seems to me undeniable, that ever since the Time of *Charles the Great* Sovereign Princes had enjoy'd the Right of *Investitures*

to Biſhopricks, and Abbeys, by the Delivery of the *Ring* and *Paſtoral Staff* *. *Gregory* VII. was the Firſt that attempted to deprive them of this Privilege towards the latter End of XI *Century*. The Popes his Succeſſors purſued his Project with the ſame Earneſtneſs. It muſt be confeſt, that the Kings themſelves gave the *Popes* but too frequent Occaſion to exclaim againſt their Abuſe of this *Prerogative*. Under Pretence that the Biſhops and Abbots cou'd not take Poſſeſſion of their *Beneſices* before they had receiv'd *Inveſtiture* from them, the Princes publickly ſold the Biſhopricks and Abbeys to the beſt Bidder. I ſay, ſold them, for altho' the *Elections* appear'd *Canonical*, yet the Sovereigns notwithſtanding over-rul'd them, by having it in their Power to refuſe *Inveſtiture* to ſuch as they did not like. This alone was ſufficient to get thoſe elected whom they recommended, there being no *Eccleſiaſtick* that deſir'd to be a Biſhop or Abbot without enjoying the *Temporalities*. It was neceſſary therefore, in order to be elected, to have the King's Conſent, after which the Biſhop or Abbot, even before *Conſecration*, receiv'd *Inveſtiture* in the Manner above-mention'd. But beſides that *Simony* had too often a Place in theſe *Elections*, there was another Reaſon, which ſeem'd to juſtify the *Popes* in their Attempts, to aboliſh this way of *Inveſtiture*. And that was, the Princes, by inveſting the *Eccleſiaſticks* not in the ſame Manner as they did the *Laicks*, and even before their *Conſecration*, ſeem'd as if they aſſum'd to themſelves a Power to grant *Spiritual Juriſdiction*, the which the Popes repreſented as a downright uſurping the *Church*'s Privileges. And indeed, it muſt be own'd it look'd ſomething like it, becauſe of the two *Characters*, which were confounded in the Prelate *Elect*, namely, his *Character* as Miniſter of the *Church*, and his *Character* as temporal Lord of

* *Sigebert* of *Gemblours* (*ad An.* 773.) relates that Pope *Adrian* I. at a *Council* of 153 Biſhops and Abbots, granted *Charles the Great* the Privilege of *electing the Pope*, and the Right of *Inveſtitures*. *Baronius* and *Peter de Marca* deny the Authority of this Council, and affirm, 'twas forg'd by *Sigebert* to ſerve the Intereſt of the Emperor againſt *Paſchal* II.

of the Lands annex'd to his Dignity. If the Popes and Princes had acted fairly, they ſhou'd have carefully diſtinguiſh'd between theſe Two; but on the contrary, both Sides thought the leaving them confounded wou'd turn to their Advantage. By that Means the Princes overrul'd the *Elections*, and the Popes took Occaſion to diſpute with the Sovereigns the Right they were poſſeſs'd of. For want therefore of diſtinguiſhing in this Matter ſprung up all thoſe Conteſts between the Princes and Popes. The former declar'd, they wou'd never ſuffer any Perſon to take Poſſeſſion of Lands held of the Crown, but what had receiv'd *Inveſtiture* at their Hands. The Popes, on the other Hand, maintain'd that 'twas unreaſonable, Princes ſhou'd interpoſe in *Elections*, or pretend to convey a *Character*, which the *Church* alone had Power to confer. Thus both Sides deviated from the true State of the Caſe. It was very poſſible that a Man might be a Biſhop or Abbot without being poſſeſs'd of the Lands held of the Crown, in which Caſe the Prince had nothing to do. On the other hand, Princes wou'd have receiv'd no manner of Detriment from any one's conveying a *Spiritual Character* without their Conſent, as long as they had it in their Power to ſecure themſelves, before they put the Prelates in Poſſeſſion of the *Temporalities*. But there was no Poſſibility of bringing them to that Point, in the Temper both Sides were in, of not giving Way in the leaſt. Thus it is manifeſt, that the Expedient practis'd by *Paſchal* II. and *Henry* I. was very reaſonable, and not at all prejudicial to the *Church*'s Rights or the King's Prerogative. But in all Appearance, this Affair wou'd not have ended ſo happily, if the Pope's Circumſtances had not forc'd him to relax. This may be inferr'd from his Behaviour to the Emperor upon the ſame Score, to whom he cou'd never be brought to grant, what he had juſt yielded up to the King of *England*.

Anſelm's *Life and Writings.*

I have dwelt the longer on this Part of *Anſelm*'s Life, becauſe it diſcovers to us the Character of this Prelate, who was honor'd with the glorious Title of *Saint*, as all were that zealouſly adher'd to the Court of *Rome*. He was born

born in the Year 1033, at *Aoſt*, a ſmall Town in *Italy*, belonging now to the Duke of *Savoy*. At ſeven and twenty Years of Age, he turn'd Monk in the Abbey of *Bec*, of which *Lanfranc* was *Prior*. When *Lanfranc* was made Abbot of St. *Stephen*'s at *Caen*, *Anſelm* became *Prior*, and afterwards Abbot, of *Bec*, from whence he was promoted to the *See* of *Canterbury*. He compos'd ſeveral *Theological* Treatiſes, of which Father *Gerberon* publiſh'd the largeſt Edition in 1676. His Writings, according to the Teſtimony of Mr. *du Pin*, are full of *Metaphyſical* Queſtions, argued with the Appearance of a great deal of *Logic*. The ſame Author obſerves, that *Anſelm*'s Letters are written in a leſs Elaborate Style than his other Works. He is alſo the firſt who compos'd long Prayers, in the Form of Meditations. He paſs'd for a Prelate of great Learning and an unblameable Life. He has been much cried up for his Firmneſs and Reſolution in his Conteſts with *William Rufus* and *Henry* I. But this ſame Firmneſs in maintaining the Cauſe of the Pope, which they gloried in for ſo many *Centuries*, wou'd not meet with that Approbation Now-a-days. *Anſelm* died in 1109, and was *Canoniz'd* in the Reign of *Henry* VII. at the Inſtance of Cardinal *Morton*, [then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.]

Gilbert *Biſhop of* London.

Gilbert, Biſhop of *London*, was famous in the Reign of *Henry* I. chiefly on the Score of his *Learning*, which gain'd him the Appellation of *Univerſaliſt*. Theſe Kind of Names were much in Vogue at that time, as Marks of Honour for ſuch as were diſtinguiſh'd in the *Sciences*. He wrote a *Commentary* on *David*'s Pſalms, and an Expoſition on the *Lamentations* of *Jeremiah*, which are ſtill extant in *Manuſcript*.

Oſmund *Biſhop of* Sarum.

Oſmund, Biſhop of *Salisbury*, by Birth a *Norman*, was Earl of *Dorſet*, and Privy-Counſellor to *William the Conqueror*, when he was made a Biſhop. As in thoſe Days every *Dioceſe* had a different *Liturgy*, *Oſmund* took in hand the correcting that which was us'd in His. He render'd more *Pure* than it was before, by diſcharging a great many *Barbarous* and *Rude* Expreſſions, and

digesting the whole in a more commodious Method. This *Liturgy Secundum usum Sarum* with these Emendations, was quickly receiv'd in the other *Dioceses*, and at length became common to all the Churches in the Kingdom. 'Tis affirm'd, that after *Osmund*'s Death, which fell out in the Year 1099, there were several *Interpolations* thrown in, which are by no means approv'd of at Present.

Malachy. *Malachy*, Archbishop of *Armagh* in *Ireland*, is famous for his *Prophecy* concerning the Popes, which were to succeed to the *Papal Chair* after his Time. These Predictions are still extant *, and are a sort of *Riddles*, which they endeavour to put some Kind of Explanation upon. He died in 1150, at the Monastery of *Clareval*, in *France*. St. *Bernard* has given us his Life.

Ingulph. *Ingulphus* was made known to *William the Conqueror*, when that Prince, who was then Duke of *Normandy* only, came into *England* for an Interview with King *Edward*. He attended him into *Normandy* in quality of *Secretary*; but some time after, throwing up this Office, he went in Pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*. At his return he turn'd Monk in the Abbey of *Fontevraud*, from whence he was sent for over and made Abbot of *Croyland* by *William the Conqueror*. He died in 1109, after he had written the History of his Monastery, which is inserted in the *Collection* of the antient *English* Historians *1.

Joffrid. *Joffrid*, Abbot of the same Monastery and immediate Successor to *Ingulphus*, was the first, as some affirm, that erected *Schools* at *Cambridge*, where he settled four of his Monks as *Professors*. If this be Fact, there must be large Abatements

* They were publish'd by *Arnold Wyon*.

*1 Publish'd by Dr. *Gale*. *Ingulphus* was born at *London* in 1030. His Father was one of King *Edward the Confessor*'s Courtiers. He was the first of our *English* Historians after the *Conquest*. In his History of *Croyland* he has occasionally intermix'd the Story of our Kings from the Year 664 to 1091. Bishop *Nicolson* observes, that the Relation he bore to the *Conqueror* manifestly biasses him in the ill Account he gives of *Harold*.

Abatements made in the Antiquity generally aſcrib'd to that famous Univerſity *.

Godfrid, Prior of *Wincheſter*, was one of the beſt Writers in his Time, if we may believe *William* of *Malmsbury*, who aſſures us, that he writ with a great deal of Elegance and Politeneſs. He compos'd, amongſt other things, a *Panegyrick* upon the *Engliſh Primates*. But what is more conſiderable, he reform'd the *Breviary*, by diſcharging all the barbarous Terms and making the Stile more pure and neat. *Alford* conjectures that this *Prior* had a principal Hand in correcting the *Liturgy of Sarum*, which went under *Oſmund*'s Name *.

* This *Joffrid*, about the Year 1114, began a Cuſtom which was afterwards practis'd by all the Monks. Upon *Good-Friday*, ſtripping himſelf every Year to the waſte before all the *Convent*, he was ſeverely ſcourg'd. This was done as a *Penance* for their Sins, and to make a deeper Impreſſion of our Saviour's Sufferings.

* The principal Writers during the four firſt *Norman* Reigns not mention'd by *Rapin*, amongſt his Perſons of Note are,

William of *Poictiers* or *Pictavienſis*, who, tho' a Foreigner and Chaplain to the *Conqueror*, has given us ſo fair an Account of the *Norman Revolution*, that he has found good Credit with moſt of our Hiſtorians. Pictavienſis.

Florence a Monk of *Worceſter* wrote a *Chronicle* which ended with his Life in 1119, but was continued 50 Years farther by another Monk of the ſame Monaſtery. He epitomiz'd or tranſcrib'd *Marianus*, adding very many Collections out of the *Saxon Chronicle* and other Writers, with much Care and Judgment. He is blam'd for adhering ſo ſcrupulouſly to his Authorities as ſometimes to retain their Miſtakes. Florence of Worceſter.

Eadmerus a Monk of *Canterbury* in his *Hiſtoria Novorum*, &c. publiſh'd by Mr. *Selden*, has given us the Story of the two *Williams* and *Henry* I, from the Year 1066 to 1122. 'Tis a Work, (as Biſhop *Nicolſon* obſerves) of great Gravity and unqueſtionable Authority. Tho' he was intimately acquainted with *Anſelm*, yet he has given a fair Account of the mighty Diſpute about *Inveſtitures*. *Selden* ſays, his Style equals *Malmsbury*'s, his Matter and Compoſure exceeds Him. Eadmer.

Ordericus Vitalis was a Monk of St. *Eurole*'s in *Normandy*, where he liv'd 56 Years. He wrote an *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* in 13 Books, wherein he has intermix'd a great many things relating to our Hiſtory. He is ſaid to be immoderate in the Praiſe of his Friends and the Diſpraiſe of his Enemies; and to Vitalis.

be

be too large in his Deſcription of little Matters, whilſt he paſſes too curſorily over things of Moment.

Malmsbury. *William* (Monk and Library-keeper) of *Malmsbury* in his Account de *Geſtis Regum Anglorum* in five Books, with an *Appendix* in two more, which he ſtiles *Hiſtoria Novella*, has made a judicious Collection of whatever he found on Record from the Arrival of the *Saxons* to the 8th Year of the Reign of King *Stephen*, 1142. He has had the higheſt Commendations given him by ſome of our beſt *Criticks* in *Engliſh* Hiſtory. He is call'd, *Elegant*, *Learned* and *Faithful*. *Uſher* ſtiles him the *Chief of our Hiſtorians*.

The moſt Noble Monument extant is the Old *Saxon Chronicle* or *Annals*. It begins from the Birth of our Saviour, and ends with *Stephen*'s Death in 1154. By the difference of the *Style* and other infallible Marks, 'tis plain theſe *Annals* were compos'd at ſeveral Times. To the Year 731, they chiefly follow *Bede* as to *Church* Affairs. But their Account of the Wars between the *Anglo-Saxon* and *Britons*, is borrow'd from no Writer that we know of, and therefore to them it is that we are indebted for the Relation of what paſs'd in thoſe Days. *Aſſerius*'s Hiſtory of *Alfred* and the *Annals* correſpond in ſo many things that the one ſeems to be a Tranſlation of the other. In a Word, they have been the Foundation of all our Hiſtories to the *Norman Conqueſt*. They were publiſh'd at *Oxford* in 169[illegible] by Dr. *Gibſon*, the Preſent Biſhop of *London*, who from all the *Manuſcripts* has made up the *Text* as entire and complete as poſſible, with an elegant and proper *Verſion*, void of affected Strains and unlucky Miſtakes, which us'd to abound in Works of this Kind.

The End of VOL. II.

BRITISH MUSEUM

Genealogies Of William The Conqueror And Of Henry II The First King Of Y House Of Anjou Plantagenet

Anjou

Ingerger

Fulque 1e Roux *E. of Anjou*

Fulque 1e Bon *E. of Anjou*

Geffrey Grisegonelle *E. of Anjou*

Fulque Nerra *E. of Anjou*

Geffrey Martel I *E. of Anjou* *d. without Issue.* — Hermengarde *m. Geffrey E. of Gatinois*

Geffrey 1e Barbu *E. of Anjou.* — Fulque 1e Rechin *E. of Anjou*

Geffrey Martel II *E. of Anjou* — Fulque V *E. of Anjou* & *K. of Jerusalem.* *1. Ermengarde* *2. Melisent of Jerusalem.*

Geffrey Plantagenet *E. of Anjou* *Matilda Da. to Hen. I. K. of Eng.* — Baldwin III *K. of Jerusa.* — Amauri *K. of Jerusa.*

Henry II *K. of Eng.* — Geffrey — William

Consult the line of Succession of Matilda the Wife of Geffrey.

Normandy

Rogwald *the Dane surnam'd the Rich Favorite of Harold Harfager K. of Denm.*

Rollo *1st Duke of Normandy* *d. 917.*

William Long Sword *D. of Norm. d. 948.* — Robert Gerlotte *E. of Corbeil.* — William *E. of Poictiers.*

Richard *I. D. of Norm.* *d. 960.*

Richard II *D. of Norm.* *d. 1026.* — Mauger *E. of Corbeil.* — Hedwiga *Geffrey E. of Bretaign.* — Emma *1. Ethelred II. K. of Eng.* *2. Canute y great.* — Robert *E. of Eureux*

Richard III *D. of Norm.* *d. 1027.* — Robert *D. of Norm.* *d. 1034.* — Mauger *Archb. of Roan* — Alix *Renold E. of Burgundy.* — Aleanor *Baldwin E. of Flanders* — Richard *E. of Eureux.* — Raoul *Constable of Norm.*

1 *WILLIAM the Conqueror Basta. D. of Normandy & K. of Eng. d. 1087.* — William *of Burgundy* — Guy — William *E. of Eureux* — John

2 Robert *D. of Norm.* *d. 1133.* — 2 *WILLIAM RUFUS* *K. of England* *d. 1100.* — 3 *HENRY I.* *K. of Eng.* *d. 1135* — Cecilia *Abbess of Caen.* — Constance *Alan D. of Bretaign.* — Margaret *Promis'd to Harold.* — Adela *Stephen E. of Blois.* — Eleanor *Espous'd to Alphonsus K. of Galicia.*

William *surnam'd Crito* *d. 1128.* — William *d. before his Fa. 1120.* — Matilda *1. Hen. V. Emper.* *2 Geffrey Plantagen. E. of Anjou* — Theobald *E. of Blois.* — Emin *Hebert E. of Vermandois.* — 4 *STEPHEN* *K. of Eng.* *d. 1154.* — Henry *Bish. of Winchester.* — Lucia *Rich. E. of Chester.*

5 *HENRY II* *K. of Eng.* *d. 1189.* — Geffrey *E. of Nantz.* — William *E. of Mortaign.* — Eustace *E. of Bulloign* *d. 1153.* — William *E. of Surry* *d. 1162.*

Henry *crown'd but d. before his Fa. 1183.* — 6 *RICHARD I* *K. of Eng.* *d. 1199.* — Geffrey *D. of Bretaign* *d. 1180.* — Matilda *Hen. D. of Saxony.* — Eleanor *Alphonsus IV K. of Castile.* — Joanne *1. Will. K. of Sicily* *2 Raymond E. of Tholouse.* — 7 *JOHN Lack land* *K. of Eng. d. 1216.* — William *E. of Surry*

Arthur *D. of Bretaign* *d. 1202.* — Eleanor *d. in Prison.*

8 *HENRY III* *K. of Eng. d. 1272.* — Jane *Alex. II. K. of Scots* — Isabella *Frederick II. Emp.* — Eleanor *1. W. E. of Pem. more* *2 Simon E. of Leicester.* — Richard *E. of Cornwal & K. of the Romans* *d. 1271.*

9 *EDWARD I* *K. of Eng. d. 1307.* — Margaret *Alex. III. K. of Scot.* — Beatrix *John D. of Bretaign.* — Edmund *E. of Lancast. K. of Sicily* — Henry *d. at Viterbo 1270.* — Edmund *E. of Cornwall d. 1308.*

10 *EDWARD II* *K. of Eng. dep. 1316.* — Thomas *E. of Norfolk.* — Edmund *E. of Kent beheaded.* — Margaret *John D. of Brabant.* — Elizabeth *1. John E. of Holland* *2. Humphrey E. of Hereford.* — Thomas *E. of Lancast. beheaded.* — Henry *E. of Lancas.* — John *E. of Derby d. young.*

11 *EDWARD III* *K. of Engl. d. 1377.* — Jane *David K. of Scot.* — Eleanor *Renold D. of Gueldre.* — Edmund *E. of Kent.* — John *E. of Kent.* — Jane y Fair *1. W. Montague.* *2. Jo. Holland.* *3. E. P. of Wales Son to Edw. III.* — Henry *D. of Lancaster.* — Matilda *W. E. of Ulster.* — Jane *Jo. Morowbray.* — Mary *Hen. Percy.*

Matilda *Will. de Baviere E. of Holland. d. without Heirs.* — Blanche *John of Gaunt Son of Ed. III.*

Abbreviations
E. Earl.
D. Duke.
d. died.

The Names written in Italick are the Husbands or Wives of the Names over them.

To be plac'd at the end of Vol. II.

A New Map of ENGLAND SCOTLAND and IRELAND

THE GERMAN OCEAN

THE IRISH SEA

ST. GEORGES CHANNEL

CHANNEL

Miles 10 20 30 40 50 60

Place this at the end of the 2d Vol.

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